



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

THE LOVERES MALADYE OF HEREOS¹

It is not often that a word has dropped so completely into oblivion that its occurrence in two famous classics can be commented on for over three centuries without an inkling of its real significance, while an adjective whose meaning depends directly upon it is used again and again in another no less celebrated work without recognition by a single commentator or in a single dictionary. *Hereos* itself, so far as I know, has escaped all the lexicographers, with but one obscure exception. In the passage in Chaucer in which it occurs it has been, from the first comment made upon it to the last, misunderstood. In the *Philobiblon* of Richard of Bury it has been universally regarded as a textual corruption, and subjected by the editors to more or less ingenious emendation. And that the adjective *heroical*, as used in the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, has any other than its ordinary meaning seems to have occurred to no one who has expressed himself in print. It is the pious purpose of this article—itself the result of a happy accident—to rescue from the iniquity of oblivion a long-lost and extremely interesting word. For the lore of *hereos* is a mingled yarn, and some of the strangest fancies of two races through a thousand years have found a place in it.

I

The passage in the *Knight's Tale* describing the sorrows of Arcite must first be quoted in full:

His sleep, his mete, his drink is him biraft,
That lene he wex, and drye as is a shaft.
His eyen holwe, and grisly to biholde;
His hewe falwe, and pale as asschen colde,
And solitarie he was, and ever allone,
And wailling al the night, making his mone.
And if he herde song or instrument,
Then wolde he wepe, he mighte nat be stent;
So feble eek were his spirits, and so lowe,
And chaunged so, that no man coude knowe

¹ A brief preliminary statement of the matter of this article will be found in *The Nation* of September 11, 1913 (Vol. XCVII, No. 2515, p. 233).

His speche nor his vois, though men it herde.
 And in his gere, for al the world he ferde
Nat oonly lyk the loveres maladye
Of Hereos, but rather lyk manye
 Engendred of humour malencolyk,
 Biforen, in his celle fantasyk.¹

For the last four lines *I* append a critical text, using the Ellsmere manuscript as a basis:

Nat oonly² lik the³ louveris⁴ maladye
 Of Hereos⁵ but rather lyk Manye
 Engendred of humour⁶ malencolik
 Biforn his owene⁷ Celle fantastik.⁸

The black-letter editions of Thynne and Stow and the 1598 Speght have *Hereos*,⁹ and it is Speght who, in 1598, makes the first known comment on the passage. It is found in his list of "The Hard Words of Chaucer Explained," and is as follows:

. . . of Hereos) Read *Eros*, i. Cupide; for so it seemeth rather to be: which I gather thus. Lucian in his second Dialogue bringeth in Cupid teaching Jupiter how to become amiable, and in him how louers may be made acceptable to their Ladies; not by weeping, watching, and fasting, nor by furious melancholike fittes, but by comely behauour. The words in the Greeke are thus much in Latine: *Si voles amabilis esse neque concutias Aegida, neque fulmen geras: sed suavissimum teipsum exhibi: et vestem sume purpureum, crepidas subliga aurates: ad tibiam et ad timpana composito gressu incede, et videbis quod plures te sequuntur, quam Bacchum Menades*. So that the Louers of *Eros*, that is, Cupides seruants, doe carry themselues comely in all their passions; & their maladies are such, as shew no open distemperature of bodie or mind: which mediocritie this *Arcite* was farre from keeping.

¹ A 1361-76.

⁴ "louere," Cm.; "louers," Cp. Pt. Ln. Hl.

² "comly," Cp. Pt. Ln.

⁵ "hereos," Cm.; "heres," Cp. Pt. Ln.; "hercos," Hl.

³ "to," Cp. Pt. Ln.

⁶ "humourys," Cm.

⁷ Om. "owene," Hg. Cp. Pt. Ln. The reading of Hl. is: "Byforne in his selle fantastyk."

⁸ It is not necessary for the purposes of this article to discuss at length the variant readings of the passage, except to observe that the reading *comly* for *oonly* (which influenced profoundly the earlier comments) persisted through Urry, and is found as late as the Bagster edition of 1807. It should also be noted that the reading of the Harleian MS for l. 1376 affords an example of manifest improvement, as compared with the other MSS, which is not included in Professor Tatlock's list (pp. 5 ff.) in his monograph on *The Harleian Manuscript 7334 and Revision of the Canterbury Tales* (Chaucer Society), 1909.

⁹ I have not been able to consult the editions of Caxton, Pynson, or Wynkyn de Worde.

To this interpretation Thynne at once took exception, in his *Animadversions*:¹

fo: 3. pa: 2. ("noughte comelye lyke to louers maladye of hereos.") for whiche woorde 'hereos,' yo^a reade eros, i. cupide, a very good and probable correctione, well gathered out of Luciane. But (salua patientia vestra, and reservinge to myselfe better iudgmente hereafter, yf I nowe mystake yt,) I wolde, for the printed 'hereos' of Chaucer, read 'heroes': whiche two woordes onlye differ in misplacinge of the letters; a comone thinge for the printer to do, and the corrector to ouerpasse. for Arcyte, in this fureye of his love, did not shewe those courses of gouer[n]mente, whiche the Heroes, or valiante persons, in tymes paste vsed; for thoughe they loued, yet that passione did not generallye so farre ouerrule them (althoughe yt mighte in some one particuler personne) as that they lefte to contynewe the valor, and heroicke actions, whiche they before performed. for the Heroes sholde so love, as that they sholde not forgett, what theye were in place, valor, or magnanymyte, whiche Arcite, in this passione, did not observe "lyke to louers malady of Heroes." Whereof I colde produce six hundred examples, (as the prouerbe ys,) were yt not that I avoyde tedious prolixitye.

In the edition of 1602 Speght changes *Hereos* to *Eros* in his text, and, as a result of Thynne's criticism, modifies his earlier note as follows:

(*Eros*, fol. 3, p. 1) *g*. Whereas some copies haue Hereos, some Hernes, and some such like counterfait word, whereof can be giuen no reason; I haue set doune Eros, *i*. cupid: as most agreing in my opinion with the matter; which I gather thus: [here follows the 1598 note to the end]. And whereas some will haue us read Heroes, *i*. noble men; I cannot dislike their opinion, for it may fitly stand with the sense of the place.

The reading *Eros* and the note of 1602 reappear in the edition of 1687, and from then until now, with (so far as I know) the single exception of Morell,² Speght's equation of *Hereos*=*Eros* has been accepted. Urry in 1721 retains the *Eros* of 1602 and 1687 in his text,³ with the note: "Eros: Cupid; Love. It is used for the Distemper of Love . . . *Gr.* "Ερως."

¹ Ed. Furnivall (Chaucer Society, 1875), pp. 44-45.

² And, it may be added, the acceptance of the Harleian reading *Hercos* in the Bell text of 1854 (I have not seen the 1782 Bell), and in Morris' 1867 edition of the *Knight's Tale*. In 1869, however, Morris reads *Hereos*, which he explains as "Eros" in his note.

³ His reading of l. 1376 is: "Beforn in his Cervele fantastik."

The lines in Morell¹ are as follows:

Not only like the Lovere, Maladye
Of Heroes, but rather like Manie,
Engendrid of Humourys melancolik,
Before his owene Sellé fantastik.²

And Morell's note is in the spirit of Thynne:

Not only like, etc. He did not behave himself like one in Love only, (to which Malady the bravest Heroes are subject, but are always decent and comely in their Passions,) but rather, etc.³

Tyrwhitt in his edition of 1775 reads *Ereos*,⁴ with the explanation in the Glossary: "Ereos for Eros, *pr. n.* Gr. Love." I have not been able to consult all the editions since Tyrwhitt, but the score or so that I have seen agree in an unquestioning acceptance of Speght's identification.⁵ The translators with one accord follow suit. Kan-negiesser (1827) has: "'bey Eros' Quälerey"; Fiedeler (1844): "durch Eros Plagen"; Herzberg (1866): "durch Eros' Glut"; von Düring (1885): "den Pfeilen Eros"; Chiarini (1897): "dal male di Eros"; Gomont (1847): "malade d'amour"; Le Chevalier de Chatelain (1857): "malades par Eros";⁶ Morel (1908): "du mal d'Eros."

¹ *The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer, in the Original, from the Most Authentic Manuscripts; etc.*, London, 1737.

² P. 104.

³ Morell's text reads *only*, but his note presupposes the reading *comely*. His list of variants is also interesting: "516. of Hereos, C. of Eros, Ur. Sp. of Teres, D. of Hernes, B. of Heres, i.e., Heroes, G." (p. 435).

⁴ His reading of l. 1376 is: "Beforen his hed in his celle fantastike."

⁵ A few notes may be quoted. Professor Skeat, in his revision in 1878 of the Bell edition, comments: "Ereos, or Hereos, is a false genitive of Gk. *ἔρως*, love, or 'Cupid.'" The note on "the lover's disease of Eros" in the *Oxford Chaucer* is familiar to everybody; the version in Skeat's modernization of the *Knight's Tale* in 1904—"the lover's malady By Cupid caused"—is not so well known. A. W. Pollard in his edition of the *Canterbury Tales* (1894) has the note: "*Hereos*, Eros, Love," which is retained in the *Globe Chaucer*. Mather's note (Riverside edition, 1899) is: "*Hereos*, Eros, Cupid"; Liddell's (1901): "The 'disease of Eros' is, of course, a humorous expression for 'Love.'" Miss Bentinck Smith (1908) has: "*Hereos* = Eros." The commentator who (as will be seen) comes nearest to the mark is Carpenter, in his *English of the XIVth Century* (1872): "The 'malady of Eros' [Carpenter's text has *Hereos*] is that 'heroical love which is proper to men and women.' The 'mania' is a sort of melancholy or monomania. 'The part affected, as Arnoldus supposeth, is the former part of the head, for want of moisture.' Burton, *Anat. Mel.* 'All [authors] make leanness, want of appetite, want of sleep, ordinary symptoms, and by that means they [the subjects] are brought often so low, so much altered and changed that, as he [Terence Eun.] jested in the comedy, one scarce knew them to be the same men.' Ib. Burton quotes this passage, saying 'So he describes it—love-melancholy—aright.'"

⁶ The translation of Chatelain deserves quotation in full:

Était si débraillé, si bizarre et sans suite,
Non seulement comme devers Paphos
Il arrive à ceux là malades par Eros,
Mais plutôt comme en proie à ce triste vertige
Sur le devant du front logé par un prodige.

In a word, except for Thynne and his follower Morell, there has been no suspicion whatever of a problem.

II

During the last summer, in turning the leaves of Arnaldus de Villanova, my eye was caught by the word "heroy's" in a connection which suggested the passage in the *Knight's Tale*. A search of several hours through all the lexicons available in the Harvard Library disclosed the fact that the word was nowhere recorded.¹ A return to the context of the passage in Arnaldus, however, rendered the lexicons unnecessary, and the clue thus stumbled on led through devious ways to the results which follow.²

In the *Liber de parte operativa*,³ Arnaldus de Villanova distinguishes between five species of mental alienation (species . . . scientiationis corruptae):

Sunt autem ipsius quinque species famosae. scilicet alienatio quam laetitia concomitatur: et proprie stultitia dicitur: quasi stupida laetitia: quoniam tales in extasi velut rapti laetantur et rident sine causa exterius

¹ Du Cange has, to be sure, the following: "HEROIS, *La baronissa*, in eod. Glossar. Vide *Heroicus*." Under *HEROICUS* we find: "*Antiquus*. Gloss. MS. Sangerman. n. 501. Aliae Gloss. Lat. Gall.: *Heroicus*, *De Baron*. *Heros*, *Baron*. *Heroy's*, *Baronesse*." But these are obviously not Arnaldus' words.

² I wish to disclaim at the outset any intention of offering an exhaustive study of *amor hereos* in its relation to mediaeval medicine. For one thing, the necessary data for such a study have not been at my disposal; for another, I should not in any case venture so rash an incursion into a highly specialized and alien field. As it is, it has been "e'en to't like French falconers—fly at anything we see." For *Hereos* is uncharted even on the medical maps. Such obvious gaps as appear, however, from the point of view of the history of medicine, are relatively unimportant in establishing the literary bearings of the term. I may add that in what follows, instead of giving a bibliography of each of the medical writers cited, I shall usually refer once for all to the great *Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin* (Jena, 1902) of Neuburger and Pagel, where full bibliographical data may be found. The histories of medicine by Baas, Haeser, Puccinotti, and others, and such bibliographical compendia as those of Eloy, Choulant, Hirsch and Gurlt may also be consulted.

³ *Arnaldi de Villanova Opera*, Lugd., 1532, f. 123-f. 130 (Harvard College Library). Outside the field of Chaucerian scholarship, where no attention has been paid him, "Arnold of the Newe Toun" is now recognized as a figure of capital importance. He is one of the dominant influences in the development of mediaeval medicine, and the importance of the part he played in the affairs of church and state, especially during the first decade of the fourteenth century, is gaining steadily increasing recognition. He was already a famous physician in 1285 (the first certain date in his career), and more than one hundred printed editions of his collected or individual works, ranging from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, are in the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale alone. I have already printed (in *Modern Language Notes*, XXVIII, No. 7, November, 1913, p. 229) the brief passage from one of his alchemical works, which Chaucer quotes. Further consideration of his life and work will have to be reserved for fuller treatment in another article. It need only be added here that as an authority in his own field in his own day he is of the first rank. See, among others, Hauréau, in *Hist. littér. de la France*, XXVII, 26-126; Pagel, in Neuburger u. Pagel, *Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin* (1902), I, 688-94; etc.

manifesta. ¶ Alienatio quam concomitatur audacia temeraria et furiosa: nominaturque mania: quasi manum. *id est* deorum infernalium insania.

¶ Alienatio quam concomitatur timor irrationalis et sollicitudo: quae communiter nominatur melancholia recipiens suam denominationem a sua causa materiali. ¶ Alienatio quam concomitatur immensa concupiscentia et irrationalis: et graece dicitur heroys, idest domina rationis. nam heroys est corrupta scientiatio qua iudicatur apprehensum delectabilius aut excellentius esse quam sit: quapropter excitat vehemens desiderium ad quaerendum rem illam: et suam cogitationem in ea frequentius: cum haec species manifestatur in concupiscentia indiuidui humani: qua indiuiduum unius sexus complexionari desiderat indiuiduo sexus alterius. Et vulgariter dicitur amor: et a medicis amor heroycus.¹ *id est* immensus: et irrationabilis.²

I have quoted this distinction at length, because it serves at once to give the malady its characteristic setting—a setting which we shall see in more detail as we go on.

Under each of the five species, now, Arnaldus proceeds to enlarge upon the causes, the signs, and the cure. Since much of what is given under these heads is found elsewhere in other writers whom I wish to quote, I shall pass over, with brief mention of certain details,³ the discussion in the *Liber de parte operatiua*, and come at

¹ The bearing of this upon the use of the adjective *heroical* in Burton will appear later.

² Ff. 126–27. The fifth species is too interesting to pass over, and I wish it as well to complete the background of *hereos*. To save space, however, I shall reduce it to a note:

“¶ Alienatio quam concomitatur horror vel odium irrationabile siue immoderatum . . . et vocatur haec alienatio cicubus propter similitudinem quam habet in incensu cui alienatus. cicubus enim est quoddam animal paruum simile araneae degens in aquis: et super eas incedit praeter ordinem aliquem nec ante nec retro nec lateraliter. Similiter iste alienatus cum omnes homines conceperit euitare: sicque adeo raptus ut non percipit eos qui exterius ei praesentes donec tangant eum vel appropinquant: et quemlibet sic obuiantem velit fugere seu vitare nullum in fugiendo seruat ordinem incedendi.”

The same species of alienation is described in the *Lilium medicinae* (see below, p. 498) under the name *cutubut*:

“Cutubut autem est quoddam genus araneae quod vadit supra aquas fontium: et habet longas tibias: cum incipit ire versus unam partem antequam motus sit perfectus statim incipit alterum. et ita de secundo. et ita de omnibus. et appellatur illud animal in vulgari capra aquae” (Partic. II, cap. xix, *De mania et melancholia*).

³ The section with the rubric “Causae heroys” (f. 128) begins: “¶ Causae primitiuae heroys frequentia videndi vel sentiendi rem desideratam sub circumstantiis placentibus.” Under “Signa heroys” (f. 128)—where the word occurs in the form used almost without exception by the other writers on the subject—are given, among the “signa distinctiua heroys,” abstinence and insomnia, “siccitas et profunditas oculorum,” fluttering of the eyelids, quickening of the pulse, disturbance of the breathing, and so on. Under “Cura herois specialis” (f. 129) the chief remedy suggested is the distraction of the attention from the object desired. The passage is quoted in part below, p. 545.

once to Arnaldus' fuller treatment of the theme in the *Tractatus de amore qui heroycus nominatur*.¹

Two points only in this most interesting treatise may be mentioned here. The first is the fact that Arnaldus takes particular pains to establish the position that *amor heroycus* is a *malady*.² The second is the interpretation of the name:

*Dicitur autem amor heroycus quasi dominalis non quia solum accidat dominis: sed quia aut dominatur subiiciendo animam et cordi hominis imperando aut quia talium amantium actus erga rem desideratam similes sunt actibus subditorum erga proprios dominos. quemadmodum etenim hi timent domini maiestatem offendere et eisdem fideli subiectione servire conantur vt gratiam obtineant et fauorem: sic ex parte alia proportionatur circa rem dilectam heroyci afficiuntur amantes.*³

The rest of the *Tractatus* we may not consider here. Its substance appears elsewhere in equally striking form, and the limitations of space are inexorable.

The list of the physicians whom the Doctour of Physik knew⁴ ends with the names of "Bernard and Gatesden and Gilbertyn."⁵ The first of these is the famous Bernardus Gordonius, who flourished at the close of the fourteenth century at the great school of

¹ Ff. 215-16. The tractate falls into four chapters:

"Q Capitulum primum de descriptione amoris heroici et descriptionis notificatione et qualiter eius proprietates ex actibus amantium colligantur."

"Q Capitulum secundum de origine et causa vehementis concupiscentiae: et fixae imaginationis in amantibus et nominis interpretatione."

"Q Capitulum tertium de accidentibus et causis accidentium huius morbi."

"Q Capitulum quartum de remediis eiusdem passionis."

² "Antea tamen est sciendum quod licet in rubricis capitulorum superius amorem heroycum morbum vocauerim nequaquam tamen morbus proprie dicitur. Morbus etenim est innaturalis dispositio seu contra naturam membri existit nocumentum: aut quod ex dicta mala dispositione sequitur ad actionem virtutis operantis in organo sic contra naturam dispositio proveniente nomine morbi accidens appellatur. Amor igitur cum non sit mala dispositio membri: sed potius nociua actio seu mala virtutis operantis in organo"—and so on at too great length to quote. Chaucer's use of the term *malady*, however, was technically sound.

³ F. 215. Barthélemy Hauréau, in his great article on "Arnauld de Villeneuve, Médecin et Chimiste" (*Hist. littér.*, XXVIII, 26-126), is apparently justified in his contention that Arnaldus did not know Greek: "Au chapitre ii, vers la fin, Arnauld dérive le mot *heroicus* du latin *herus* et non du grec *ἥρως*; ce qui prouve clairement qu'il ignorait cette langue grecque" (p. 68). See also below, p. 524. On the *Tractatus de amore*, etc., Hauréau remarks: "ce que nous hésitons à croire, c'est qu'on en puisse tirer quelque observation utile" (p. 68). But Hauréau did not know Chaucer, Richard of Bury, or Burton!

⁴ A 429-34.

⁵ I shall have more to say of this list in another paper.

Montpellier, where he became professor about 1285.¹ Bernard's chief work, the *Lilium medicinae*,² is not only in general one of the most remarkable of its class, but it also contains a very noteworthy account of the malady we are concerned with. In common with the majority of similar treatises the *Lilium medicinae* groups together a long series of diseases of the brain, and the list is illuminating for our purpose. The bead-roll of cerebral maladies, beginning with the eleventh chapter of Particula II, is as follows:

xi, de scotomia et vertigine; xii, de litargia; xiii, de corruptione memoriae; xiv, de litargia non vera; xv, de congelatione; xvi, de somno profundo innaturali; xvii, de stupore; xviii, de vigiliis; xix, de mania et melancolia; xx, de amore qui hereos dicitur; xxi, de ebrietate; xxii, de frenesi; xxiii, de sternutatione; xxiv, de incubo; xxv, de epilepsia; xxvi, de apoplexia; xxvii, de parali; xxviii, de spasmo; xxviii, de tremore.

Hereos, accordingly, is in edifying company. Nor is Gordon's discussion of the malady itself less instructive. In accordance, once more, with the set formula of treatises of the type, he follows an orderly procedure, and considers at length *causa, signa, pronostica cura, clarificatio*.³ Gordon's treatment is not only uncommonly interesting, but it is also highly typical; it is drawn upon largely by Burton in the *Anatomy*; and I shall therefore quote, in this instance, the greater part of the chapter.⁴

¹ The best account of Gordon is that of Émile Littré, "Bernard de Gordon, Médecin," in *Hist. littér.*, XXV, 321-37. See also Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 694-95. Jacques Ferland, in his *EPOTOMANIA* (see below, p. 536), has the following: "the French have so great an opinion of his authority, that they have a Proverbe, *Que le Médecin qui va sans Gordon, va sans baston*; the Physitian that goes without *Gordon*, goes without his staffe" (pp. 236-37).

² I have used it in the editions of 1491 (in the Boston Medical Library) and of 1550 (from the Pagel collection in the library of the Washington University Medical School). Bernard's explanation of the name of his treatise and the statement of the date of its composition appear together at the close of the *Proœmium*:

"Ad honorem igitur agni celestis, qui est splendor & gloria Dei patris, hunc librum Intitulo Lilium medicinae. In Lilio enim sunt multi flores & in quolibet flore sunt septem folia candida & septem grana quasi aurea: Similiter liber iste continet septem partes, quarum prima erit aurea, rutilans & clara. Tractabit enim de morbis plurimis vniuersalibus, incipiens à febris: aliæ autem sex partes erunt candidæ & transparentes, propter earum grandem manifestationem. Inchoatus autem est liber iste, cum auxilio magni Dei, in præclaro studio Montispessulani, post annum vigesimum lecturæ nostræ, Anno domini 1305. Mense Iulij" (ed. 1550, p. 4).

³ The significance of these rubrics in their bearing upon a question that has been raised regarding the source of Burton's *Anatomy* will appear later. See p. 541, n. 7.

⁴ In general, in this article, I propose to give the maximum of text and the minimum of comment. The material, I think, is wholly new and much of it extremely difficult of

Morbus¹ qui hereos dicitur est sollicitudo melancolica propter mulieris amorem.

Causa. Causa huius passionis est corruptio existimativae² propter formam et figuram fortiter affixam. unde cum aliquis philocaptus est in amore alicuius mulieris: ita fortiter concipit formam et figuram et modum quoniam credit et opinatur hanc esse meliorem. pulchriorem. magis venerabilem. magis speciosam. et melius dotatam in naturalibus et moralibus quam aliquam aliarum: et ideo ardentem concupiscit eam. et sine modo et mensura opinans si posset finem attingere quod haec esset sua felicitas et beatitudo. et intantum corruptum est iudicium rationis: quod continue cogitat de ea: et dimittit omnes suas operationes. ita quod si aliquis loquatur cum eo vix intelligit aliqua alia. Et quia est in continua meditatione: ideo sollicitudo melancolica appellatur. Hereos dicitur quia hereosi et nobiles propter affluentiam deliciarum istam passionem consueverunt incurrere. quoniam sicut dicit Viaticus.³ sicut felicitas est ultimum dilectionis:⁴ ita hereos ultimum dilectionis et ideo intantum concupiscunt quod insani efficiuntur. Juxta illud Ovidii. atrahe sublimi triste pendit onus. Iudicium et ipsorum corruptum est. et ideo dicebat versificator. Omnis amans caecus non est amor arbiter aequus. Nam deforme pectus⁵ iudicat esse decus. et alibi. Quisquis amat ranam: ranam putat esse dianam.⁶ Virtus

access, and its significance warrants as full a statement as space will allow. The citation from Gordon follows the edition of 1491; the few variants of any importance in the edition of 1550 are given in the notes.

¹ Ed. 1550, "Amor."

² Ed. 1550, "aestimativae."

³ "Viaticus" long eluded me, but once found he proved to be of the first importance. See below, pp. 513-16, 522-23.

⁴ One thinks at once of the Franklin, "That heeld opinioun, that pleyn delyt Was verrailly felicittee parfyte" (A 337-38).

⁵ Ed. 1550, "pecus."

⁶ I have so far been unable to identify "versificator." In at least four other places Gordon uses the same term in introducing a quotation. In two of these I have found the lines in the *Flos medicinae*, better known as the *Regimen Salernitanum*; the third is obviously from a versified *pharmacopœia*, such as that in cap. ii. of the *Regimen Salernitanum*, or in the *Liber de laudibus et virtutibus compositorum medicaminum* of Aegidius Corboliensis (to whom John of Gaddesden in the *Rosa anglica* refers in at least one passage—f. 97—as "versificator"); the fourth I have not traced. Two of these are also in a crude rhyming hexameter, and it is very possible that in the *hereos* lines, too, Gordon is quoting from one of the numerous versified medical treatises of his day. The special interest of the line is due to Burton's use of it. For in the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part. III, Sec. II, Mem. III, Subs. I, occurs the following: "Love is blind, as the saying is, *Cupid's* blind, and so are all his followers.—Quisquis amat ranam, ranam putat esse Dianam." It is clear that Burton is paraphrasing the first of the three lines cited by Gordon, and quoting the third. Yet Shilleto (Vol. III, p. 178, of his edition) has the following note: "Is the reference in Diana to the famous Diana of Poitiers, mistress of Henri II, a paragon of well-preserved and lasting beauty?" Diana of Poitiers was born in 1499, one hundred and ninety-four years after Gordon quoted the line! One is accordingly not surprised to find Bernardus identified in Shilleto's index with Alexander Gordon. The ranam : Dianam line is also quoted by Gerardus de Solo and Michael Savonarola. See below, pp. 509-10, 532-33.

igitur existimatiua¹ quae est altior inter sensibiles praecipit ymaginatiuae et ymaginatiua concupiscibili: et concupiscibilis irascibili. irascibilis virtuti motiuae lacertorum. et tunc mouetur totum corpus spreto ordine rationis. et currit de nocte et de die per viam et in via: spernendo calorem et frigus et omnia pericula cuiuscunque conditionis sint. cum iam amplius non potest quiescere corpus. sed concupiscentia non quiescit intantum quod tristabilia sunt sine comparatione maiora quam essent delectabilia: dato quod haberet intentum. et cum naturaliter fugiantur tristabilia: hic autem in mente captus est quod² propter unam modicam et miserrimam delectationem omne tristabile videtur sibi delectabile. Ita recte³ faciunt ribaldi qui propter delectationem ludi et tabernae in hieme incedunt nudi et in terra decumbunt. et tamen vident quod est magis⁴ delectabile vel tristabile: et non est dubium quod tristabile. et tamen eligunt maxime tristabilia propter modica delectabilia. ita et isti miseri philocapti.

Signa. Signa autem sunt quando amittunt somnum et cibum et potum: et maceratur totum corpus: praeterquam oculi. et habent cogitationes occultas et profundas cum suspiriis luctuosis. et si audiant cantilenas de separatione amoris statim incipiunt flere et tristari. et si audiant de coniunctione amoris statim incipiunt ridere et cantare. Pulsus⁵ eorum est diuersus et inordinatus, sed est velox, frequens, et altus, si mulier quam diligit nominetur, aut si transeat coram ipso. Et per hunc modum cognouit Gale. passionem cuiusdam iuuenis: patiens enim erat melancholicus, tristis, et macilentus, et pulsus erat occultus et inordinatus, et nolebat Gale. reuelare, tunc accidit à fortuna, illa mulier, quam diligebat, transiuit coram eo, et tunc pulsus fuit subito fortiter excitatus, et cum mulier transiuisset, pulsus reuersus est ad naturam primam, et tunc cognouit Galen. quòd philocaptus erat et dixit, tu es in tali passione, quia talem diligis mulierem, et alter fuit admiratus, quòd cognouisset passionem et personam. Et ideo si aliquis vult scire nomen mulieris quam diligit nominet sibi multas. et cum nominatur illa quam diligit statim pulsus excitatur. Illa ergo est.⁶

¹ Ed. 1550, "aestimatiua."

² Ed. 1550, "indirecte."

³ Ed. 1550 omits.

⁴ Ed. 1550 inserts "vel."

⁵ The next two sentences, which I failed to transcribe from the edition of 1491, are printed from the edition of 1550.

⁶ The edition of 1550 adds: "et fugiatis ab ea!" This artifice—which reads like some of the latest devices of the psychological laboratory for the detection of criminals—seems to have had wide vogue. See, for instance, the account which Ferrand gives of how he discovered "the foolish doating of a young Schollar . . . who was desperately gone in Love" (EPOTOMANIA, ed. 1645, pp. 117–18), and the list of cases which Burton cites (with a quotation from Gordon) in his chapter on "Symptoms of Love" (ed. Shilleto, III, 156–57). I am indebted to my colleague, Dr. F. C. Walker, for calling my attention to Margaret's use of the device in the fifty-second chapter of *The Cloister and the Hearth*: "How know ye 'tis he?" "I held her hand, and with my finger did lightly touch her wrist; and when the others came and went 'twas as if dogs and cats had fared in and out! But at this Ulrich's coming her pulse did leap. . . . I tell ye all this hath been done before, thousands of years ere we were born."

Pronostica. Pronosticatio est talis *quod* nisi herosis¹ succurratur in maniam cadunt aut moriuntur.

Cura. Patiens iste aut est obediens rationi aut non. Si est obediens remouetur ab illa falsa ymaginatione ab aliquo viro quem timeat: de quo verecundetur cum verbis et amonitionibus ostendendo pericula seculi: diem iudicii: et gaudia paradisi. Et si rationi non est obediens: et si esset iuuenis *quod* esset sub ferula. tunc frequenter et fortiter flagelletur donec totus incipiat fetere.² deinde nuncietur sibi valde tristabilia: ut maior tristicia minorem habeat obfuscare. Aut *quod* nuncientur alta delectabilia: ut *quia* factus senescallus: vel bailius: vel beneficium grande est sibi collatum. et ita revocabitur: *quia* honores mutant mores. deinde tollatur ocium: de quo Ouidius. oia si tollas periire cupidinis actus.³ Deinde occupetur in aliqua actione necessaria. de quo Ouidius Dat⁴ vacuae menti *quod* teneatur opus. Deinde distrahatur ad longinquas regiones ut videat varia et diversa. et de hoc Ouidius. Vade per urbanae splendida castra troiae.⁵ Invenies pixides et rerum mille colores. Deinde hortetur ad diligendum multas: ut distrahatur amor unius propter amorem alterius. et de hoc Ouidius hortor et ut pariter binas habeatis amicas. fortius et plures si quis amare⁶ potest. Utile igitur est mutare regimen. et esse inter amicos et notos. et *quod* vadat per loca ubi sint prata. fontes. montes. nemora. odores boni. pulchri aspectus. cantus avium. instrumenta musica. cum⁷ dicit Auicenna *quod* aliqui plus moventur per instrumenta musica. Et si aliqua materia fuerit aggregata: mundificatur sicut dictum est in capitulo de mania et melancolia quia vere una species melancoliae est. Finaliter autem cum aliud consilium non habemus: imploremus auxilium et consilium vetularum. ut ipsam dehonestent et difament quantum possunt. ipsae enim habent artem sagacem ad hoc plus quam viri. cum⁸ dicit Auicenna. *quod* aliqui sunt qui gaudent in audiendo fetida et illicita. Quaeratur igitur vetula turpissima in aspectu cum magnis dentibus et barba: et cum turpi et vili habitu: et *quod* portet subtus gremium pannum menstruaturn et adueniens philocapta *quod* incipiat dehonestare camisiam suam dicendo: quomodo est tignosa et ebriosa: et *quod* mingit in lecto: et *quod* est empileptica et impudica: et *quod* in corpore suo sunt excrescentiae enormes cum fetore anhelitus. et aliis omnibus enormibus in quibus vetulae sunt edoctae. Si autem ex his persuasionibus nolit dimittere: subito extrahat pannum menstruaturn coram facie: portando dicendo clamando: talis est amica tua talis. Et si ex his non dimiserit: iam non est homo sed diabolus incarnatus. Fatuitas igitur sua ulterius secum sit in perditione.

¹ Ed. 1550, "hereosis."

² Both Ferrand and Burton quote this remedy from Gordon.

³ Ed. 1550, "artes."

⁴ Ed. 1550, "habere."

⁵ Ed. 1550, "da."

⁶ Ed. 1550, "tamen."

⁷ Ed. 1550, "togae."

⁸ Ed. 1550, "tamen."

The **Clarificatio** I shall pass over, except for its last sentence:¹

Ultimo intelligendum quod ista passio pulcherrimo modo potest describi sic. Amor est mentis insania: quia animus vagatur per inania.² cerebri doloribus permiscens pauca gaudia.

The next name in Chaucer's list is that of Gatesden. Gatesden, as is well known, is John of Gaddesden,³ who died in 1361, and who was probably born about 1280. He was a member of Merton College, Oxford, and was Master of Arts, Bachelor in Theology, and Doctor in Medicine.⁴ His *magnum opus* was the *Rosa anglica*.⁵ Unlike the large majority of treatises of its type, the *Rosa anglica* follows an order of its own, and the passage we are concerned with comes near the end instead of toward the beginning of the volume. The fourth book is entitled "De morbis particularibus," and I shall quote its opening paragraph for the light it throws on a characteristic common to John of Gaddesden and Chaucer's Physician:

Quartus liber erit brevis de prius obmissis morbis qui sunt particulares: quia particulariter eueniunt: non particularitate corporis tantum: sed par-

¹ And for the citation, without its elaboration, of the remedy which—along with the use of wine—is perhaps most uniform in its occurrence in the various discussions: "Coitus igitur, quia laetificat et calefacit, et bonam digestionem inducit, ideo bene competit quibus est permissum, dum tamen fiat secundum temperamentum."

² Ed. 1550, "maniam."

³ Not John Gatisden, as Wright and Skeat give the name.

⁴ The latest and fullest account of John of Gaddesden is that of H. P. Cholmeley, *John of Gaddesden and the Rosa Medicinae*, Oxford, 1912. See also Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 699.

⁵ Through the kindness of my colleague, Dr. George Dock, I have had the use of his copy (the edition of 1502) of this extremely rare work (see the paper by Dr. Dock on "Printed Editions of the *Rosa Anglica*" in *Janus* (n.s.), xii^e année, livraison viii, 1907, pp. 1 ff.), and I have also collated the beautifully illuminated copy of the edition of 1492 in the John Crerar Library. The explanation of the title of the work (as in the case of the *Lilium medicinae*) is of very curious interest. I give Cholmeley's transcription (p. 24) of the passage:

"Ante tamen capitulo primo ista flant volo nomen isti libro imponere, vocando ipsum Rosam Medicinae propter quinque additamenta quae sunt in rosa, quasi quinque digitus tenentes rosam, de quibus scribitur.

"Tres sunt barbati sine barba sunt duo nati., i.e., tres articuli vel partes circumdantes rosam sunt cum pilositate, duae sunt sine, et ideo erunt hic quinque libri. Primi tres erunt barbati barba longa, quia ad multa se extendent, quia erunt de morbis communibus. . . . Duo sequentes erunt de morbis particularibus cum declaratione aliquorum omissorum in precedentibus, quasi sine barba. Et sicut rosa excellit omnes flores, ita iste liber excellit omnes practicas medicinae, quia," etc.

Gaddesden's statement of the date of his work is as follows: "quae haec omnia ego Joannes de Gaddesden 7^{mo} anno lectionis meae compilavi." Cholmeley (p. 23) gives the date of his "Inceptio ad Lecturam" as 1307. If this is correct, the *Rosa anglica* was written about 1314, nine years after the *Lilium medicinae*. For a very interesting account of the book itself see Cholmeley's second chapter.

ticularitate temporis: *quia raro medicus lucratur pecuniam cum eis: et sunt liturgia mania desipientia melancolia. et particularius de iter agentibus, etc.*¹

In other mediaeval medical writers *amor hereos* is always closely associated with the discussion of *melancolia*; in John of Gaddesden, however, no dividing line whatever is drawn. The second chapter of Book IV is headed "*De mania desipientia et melancolia*,"² and under *Signa* appears the following:

De genere *melancoliae* est amor hereos in istis mulieribus et viris qui inordinate diligunt. et habent isti omnes diuersas proprietates *quia* quidam putant se esse gallos et erigunt brachia tanquam alas et volunt cantare. quidam quod sunt episcopi et volunt conferre prebendas. quidam fugiunt ne super eos caelum cadat.³ et generale est apud omnes quod timent mortem et non vellent eam. et quidam timent omnia nigra. et cum audiunt loqui de diabolo passio arripit eos. nec audent stare soli in camera tales nec ad loca tenebrosa aliquo modo ire propter timorem. et alia talia infinita. sicut de vna muliere quam habui in cura mea vidi quod non audebat loqui de diabolo nec respicere per fenestram extra ne videret diabolum timens de omni homine nigris vestito ne esset ille.⁴

Inasmuch, however, as "a good pitaunce" was not in such cases to be expected, John of Gaddesden dismisses the cure of *hereos* summarily:

¶ Sed in amore ereos oportet vituperare illam quam diligit vel facere copulationem et dare camphorum et lactucam super renes. et confortare patientem ne in ethicam incidat. Ista omnia valent istis tribus passionibus. id est. maniae *melancoliae* et desipientiae. et aliquando frenesi et amori ereos quo ad purgationem et balneum. Et ideo simul posui ista capitula quae si bene inspiciantur sunt utilissima in multis casibus: posito quod morbi isti raro eueniant vnde in istis amentibus et alienatis cum istis iam dictis potest medicus facere quasi mirabilia. tamen oportet frequenter humores adustos

¹ I shall have something to say in a later article regarding physicians' fees, and also regarding the suggestion more than once made that John of Gaddesden was the model for Chaucer's Doctour of Physik.

² Ff. 132-33.

³ With these constantly recurring symptoms of *melancolia* in the more general sense I shall have to deal later in another connection.

⁴ The bearing of much of this—and of numerous similar passages—on the famous discussion of *dreams* in the *Nun's Priest's Tale* I shall also have to leave for consideration another time. The commonly accepted views regarding the sources of Chaucer's dream-lore will, I think, have to undergo revision. It is not upon mediaeval sermon-books that he chiefly drew—if he drew on them at all.

euacuare sicut satis dixi in primo et 2° et aliquantulum in 3° et ideo recurre ad loca illa.¹

Before coming to the sources of the mediaeval treatment of *amor hereos* in the Arabic and Greek writers, and to the later development of the subject between Chaucer and Burton, I shall mention two of Chaucer's more immediate contemporaries.

John of Tornamira was the physician of two popes—Gregory XI and Clement VII—and of the king of France; and he was twice (the second time about 1401) head of the school of Montpellier. His period of greatest activity was the last quarter of the fourteenth century, and his chief work was the *Clarificatorium super nono almanoris cum textu ipsius Rasis*.² His discussion of *amor hereos* is at the close of his long gloss on the thirteenth chapter ("De melancolia") of the text of Razi,³ under the heading "de amore hereos." His most significant contribution to the subject, from our point of view, is his comment on the scope and application of the phrase. It has a very definite bearing on the passage in the *Philobiblon*, and I shall reserve it for quotation there.⁴ What follows is sufficiently characteristic:

Et nota quod amor hereos cum sit vna species melancolie ex quo est ibi alienatio et corruptio rationis et apud quosdam antiquos dicitur sollicitudo melancolica: quia ultra rationem sunt solliciti versus mulieres propter concupiscentiam carnalem conceptam ab eis et ultimate deliciosam habendam confidentes. . . . Et nota quod amor hereos est amor multum excedens sine ratione: ideo dicitur amor cum insania mentis propter multum delectabile ab eis conceptum iam habendum. nam hereos grece est multum delectabile latine⁵. . . . proprie tamen amor hereos vertit se ad mulierem propter deliciam carnalem ultimate eis deliciosam habendam. Nam quibusdam iuuenibus libidinis videtur quod participatio carnalis cum quibusdam mulieribus est vltimum delicie et felicitatis mundane: nam isti ex spe

¹ I have been, unfortunately, unable to see the work of "Gilbertyn"—the *Compendium medicinae* (sometimes known as the *Rosa anglicana*—not *anglica*) of Gilbertus Anglicus (thirteenth century). The book is too rare to be sent out of the few libraries that possess it, and the examination I have had made of it has failed to disclose any treatment of *hereos*. I am not sure, however, that it does not contain such a discussion. It is not always easy to find when it does not constitute a separate chapter.

² See Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 695. I have used the 1507 edition of the *Clarificatorium*, in the Pagel collection.

³ See also below, pp. 507 ff.

⁴ See below, p. 531, and also p. 524, n. 9.

⁵ For what immediately follows, see below, p. 531.

mundana sensata alicuius mulieris infixā immemoratīua per memoriā frequentatā imaginando conditiones subiacentes: etc.

Since, as we have seen, the malady results from too great dryness of the brain, the following cure (in addition to others) is suggested:

Rasis vult quod fortiter inebrientur quibusdam diebus. vt cerebrum humectetur: et ipsarum obliuiscatur. quia sicut modica inebriatio incitat luxuriā ita magna obfuscat propter excessiuā humiditatem obliuiscuntur talem actum dormiunt velut stupidi: de quo somno multum indigent. Et sic terminetur cura amoris hereos.

One of the most edifying of all the mediaeval compendia is the *Philonium* of the Portuguese Valescus (or Valascus) of Taranta.¹ Like Bernardus Gordonius and John of Tornamira, Valescus was a teacher at Montpellier, and the *Philonium*, finished in 1418, was the outcome of thirty-six years of experience.² Valescus' chapter (lib. I, cap. 11) *De amore hereos* comes between those on *incubus* and *mania*, and it opens with a remarkable addition to our fund of etymological information:

*Hereos grece idem est quod dominus latine. Et alemani dicunt. heer. id est dominus.*³

The definition immediately follows:

*Est autem amor hereos amor inordinatus et irrationabilis quem aliquis habet erga aliquam mulierem non propter bonum finem. Est ergo hereos amor cum sollicitudine immensa propter amorem mulieris.*³

And the cause is concisely stated:

Causa hereos est corruptio virtutis imaginatiuæ falsa representantis virtuti rationabili et opinatiuæ. Nam imaginatio magna domina est: et

¹ Its title, in the edition of 1526 (Pagel collection), is *Aureum ac perutile opus practicae medicinae operam dantibus: quod Philonium appellatur*. Its Prologus is a remarkable document. I shall have occasion elsewhere to quote its invocation of divine assistance. Valescus' reasons for dividing his book into seven parts are of a piece with the explanations of the titles of the *Lilium medicinae* and the *Rosa anglica*: "Primo enim septem verba quæ dominus noster iesus christus saluator noster in cruce pendens locutus fuit. Septem sunt gaudia virginis gloriosæ. Septem sacramenta ecclesiæ. Septem petitiones in dominica oratione. Septem sunt virtutes septem peccatis mortalibus resistentes. Aliæ septem virtutes: quatuor cardinales et tres theologicæ. Septem peccata mortalia quæ ignorari non debent vt euitentur. Septem opera dei in sex diebus facta cum requie septimæ diei. . . . Septem candelabra. . . . Septem opera misericordiæ. Septem ecclesiæ quæ sunt in asia. . . . Septem spiritus qui sunt ante thronum dei. . . . Septem planetae. Septem dies in septimana. Septem climata tam habitabilia"—and so on through six more groups of seven (fol. ii).

² "Inceptus est autem liber iste cum auxilio magni et eterni dei post practicam usualem. 36. annorum per me Valescum anno domini. 1418" (fol. ii).

³ Fol. xix.

imperat aliis virtutibus. *Quando ergo ipsa apprehendit species rei dilectae: tunc eas presentat aliis virtutibus scilicet rationi et memoriae. et iterum isto modo sibi: et ita continue nocte dieque stant amantium animae ita quod nil aliud perfecte imaginari possunt et deus scit quomodo ratio tunc operatur.*¹

The *signa* may be passed over. Upon the *curatio*, however, Valescus lavishes all his eloquence. Of the thirteen methods of cure which he enumerates I shall mention only four. The first is sufficiently obvious and indubitably effective: "*Prima est quod detur sibi illa quam diligit: sicut dicit Rasis et cura facta est.*" The fifth is familiar, but perhaps nowhere else so enticingly phrased as in the *Philonium*:

Quinto iuuat incedere per prata cum sociis et dilectis viridaria et nemora: et per iardinos floridos vbi cantant aues et resonant philomenae: vbi prandia et cenae sint bene parata cum triplici vel quadruplici specie vinorum: et optimis ferculis et fructibus: vbi flores et sarta et gaudia preparentur: vt unus homo saluetur: et ista ab eius consortio cum conuenientia et dei reuerentia suscipiantur tam in gurgitatione voluptatum quae multum deo displicent. Ad hoc etiam multum iuuat loqui cum amicis et dilectis suis.²

The sixth we have met with in Gordonius, but Valescus makes his own addition:

Sexto iuuat ad distractionem imaginationis ammonitio parentum et sapientum virorum: qui sibi doceant huius seculi et venturi effectus: et pericula: ac scandala quae inde possunt sequi: etsi iuuenis est: flagelletur culus eius cum verberibus: et si non sistit: ponatur in fundo turris cum pane et aqua donec veniam a sua insania petat.²

Nor is the ninth original, except perhaps in its phrasing:

Nono ad hoc iuuat vt diligat plures et illas osculetur et cum eis saepe loquatur: vt eius amor erga eam non sit totus: sed dividatur. Ideo dicebat Ouidius. hortor vt et pariter binas habeatis amicas. Fortior et plures si quis habere potest. Nam si vna dicit non: altera dicit sic.²

There is space for but two of the seven divisions of the *Clarificatio*. The first is a rather cynical expression of Valescus' belief in the passing of the malady:

Primo sciendum quod pauci vel nulli nunc efficiuntur heroici. nam tanta dissolutione vtuntur cum diversis mulieribus: quod eorum amor super unam queiscere [*sic*] non valet.²

The second speaks with sufficient clearness for itself:

Secundo nota quod ebrietas: gulositas: luxuria: latrocinium: hereos: ludus: vsura: maliloquium: mentiri: blasphemias petere: tenacitas seu

¹ Fol. xix.

² Fol. xx.

aueritia: loquacitas: *omnia ista iudicium rationis impediunt: et habituata vix recedunt.*¹

It is difficult to refrain from further quotation; there are few more interesting human documents of the sort than the eleventh chapter of the *Philonium*.²

III

The passages thus far cited are more than enough to establish the meaning of Chaucer's line. But the interest of the subject itself, as well as its wider implications, warrants further consideration of the earlier history both of the malady and of its name. And that history is strikingly typical. For *hereos* is one more embodiment of the passage of Greek learning by way of the Arabs into Western Europe.

Perhaps the greatest of all the Arabic physicians—with the possible exception of Avicenna—was Rhazes or Razi (Abu Bekr Muhammed ben Zakarijja er-Razi), who lived from 850 to 923 or 932.³ His most extensive work, the vast compendium known as *al-Hawi* (or *Haouy*), was translated into Latin in the thirteenth century under the name of *Continens*.⁴ It is a gigantic encyclopedia of the medical knowledge of his day, consisting largely of a mass of

¹ Fol. xx.

² A much older treatise is the *Commentarium Magistri Bernardi Provincialis super tabulas Salerni* (*Collectio Salernitana*, 5, 269–328). It is, in large measure, a compendium of folk-medicine, quoting constantly the "*mulieres Salernitanae*" as its authorities for all manner of curious remedies, some of which still survive in rural communities. Master Bernardo flourished during the last half of the twelfth century (De Renzi, *Collectio Salernitana*, 5, 329 ff.). In his chapter "*De calidis II gradu*" (5, 299–300) occurs the following:

"Ferrugo, id est fex ferri: Si quis invenis [apparently a misreading of *iuvenis*] aggravatus sit amore alicuius mulieris quam non possit habere, vel aliqua puella in amore alicuius pueri quem non possit habere, manibus post sterga [sic] positis vel etiam revinctis, bibat de aqua in qua ferrugo vel ferrum candens extinctum sit, ore prono, in vase ubi est aqua, et sic minus amore illicito torquebitur; phisicum et empiricum et rationale remedium: vel potest dici, et verum est, quod humores qui ab amore illicito *vel hercos* levigantur aqua ferruginea bibita gravidantur inferius et sic amor inervatur et spiritus animalis minus infestatur."

The form *hercos* is noteworthy, since it appears also in the Harleian MS. See below, p. 523, n. 5.

³ See Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 598–601; Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe* (Paris, 1876), I, 337–54. Razi's name is variously transmogrified in the Middle Ages as Abubeter, Abubater, Bubikir, etc. I may say, once for all, that no two of the modern authorities whom I have consulted agree in their transliteration of any of the Arabic names that occur in this paper, and I assume no responsibility for the forms (always those given by reputable authorities) which I have used.

⁴ On its translator, Ferraguth, see Leclerc, II, 464–67.

(often verbal) citations from his predecessors—Greek, Arabic, Persian, Indian, even Chaldean—accompanied by Razi's own comment. The twentieth *tractatus* of the first book is entitled "De coturub vel ereos,"¹ and it falls into two chapters, of which I shall quote the first.² The sheer gauntness and starkness of it is of a different world from the Ovidian trappings of Valescus.

¶ *Capitulum primum est de essentia causis signis accidentibus et pronosticatione coturub vel ereos.*

Dixit Judeus quod patientes coturub vel ereos incedunt de nocte tanquam canes: et eorum facies sunt croceae propter vigiliis et eorum corpora dessicantur: et continue siciunt: et hoc accidit eis post laborem.

Dixit Alexan. quod patientes coturub vel ereos incedunt stridendo alias vagando et clamando tota nocte et proprie per sepulturas mortuorum usque ad mane: et eorum color est croceus: et eorum oculi debilitantur: et siccantur: et fiunt concaui: et non lachrymantur: et desiccatur eorum lingua: et videtur puluerizata: et habent crustulas vel ulcera quae non possunt consolidari: et hic morbus est de morbis melancholiae.

Dico Patientes morbum qui appellatur corub [sic] incedunt amentes per sepulturas mortuorum: et hic morbus est in capite: et eorum facies apparet immutata: et visus debilis: et oculi sicci et concaui: et non lachrymantur: et eorum lingua est sicca: et apparent in ea pustulae: et totum corpus siccum et durum: et multum siciunt: et impossibile est quod conualescant ex hoc morbo: propter praua accidentia quae concomitantur ipsum: et mesti iacent supra eorum faciem: et videntur in eorum facie et dorso vel tibiis quasi quaedam maneries pulueris et morsus canis: et hoc accidit ex melancholia: et ambulant de nocte tanquam lupi: et desiccantur eorum linguae: et haec species est de vsues idest birsem melancholica.³

The second chapter—"de cura coturub vel ereos"—deals chiefly with phlebotomy and the use of drugs, and I shall omit it here.

Next to the *Continens* the best-known work of Razi is *El Mansoury* (*Liber medicinalis Almansoris*). The ninth book (or *tractatus*)

¹ "Coturub' (*quṭrub*)," Professor George F. Moore informs me, "is, in the medical writers, 'a species of melancholia, disordering the intelligence, drawing up the face . . . turning the skin ashy, the eyes sunken, body emaciated,' etc. The lexicons refer to Avicenna, Book iii, for a more detailed description." The reference is evidently to the chapter discussed below (p. 512).

² *Continens Rasis ordinatus et correctus per clarissimum artium et medicinae doctorem magistrum Hieronymum Surianum* (Venice, 1509). I have used the copy in the John Crerar Library.

³ "Usues is *wiswās* (Western pronunciation *wiswās*), 'insanity'; *birsem* (*birsām*) is defined in the general dictionaries as pleurisy (or peritonitis?), accompanied by delirium; while *sirsām* is inflammation of the brain" (Moore). The sixth chapter of Razi's *Liber divisionum* (see below, p. 510) is entitled: "De birsen. *id est*. litargia et frenesi

of *El Mansoury* was frequently translated and commented on during the Middle Ages, and its text may be found in the *Clarificatorium* of John of Tornamira.¹ It does not itself contain a discussion of *hereos*, but this lack is supplied by the commentators.² I shall first quote a brief passage from the thirteenth chapter ("De melancolia") in the twelfth century Latin translation of *El Mansoury* by Gerhard of Cremona:³

Rasis non nominavit gadob . . . neque nominavit sollicitudinem quae ex amore mulieris vel alicuius rei accidit cuius cura est ebrietas et mutatio de regione in regionem et coitus cum alia quam cum ea quam diligit.

It is, however, in another commentator on the ninth *tractatus* of the *Liber Almansoris* that one of the most remarkable of all the disquisitions on *amor hereos* occurs. Gerardus de Solo was at the head of the school at Montpellier about 1320,⁴ so that his treatise falls between those of Bernardus Gordonius and John of Tornamira. His comment on the chapter "De melancolia" in Razi contains the following:⁵

Sequitur de tertia specie melancoliae quae amoreneos dicitur circa quam passionem quattuor sunt pernotanda. Primo secundum philosophum .vi. ethicorum amor triplex est quidam est propter bonum domesticum et vocatur amor virtuosus procedens a virtute: ita quod non patiatum secum illicitum. . . . Alter est amor propter bonum utile: ut inter dominum et seruum et communiter non est talis amor. et tertius est amor propter bonum est delectabile diuersificatus secundum fiens: secundum Auicen. iij. canonis nam aliqui in auro. aliqui in diuitijs. aliqui in mulieribus est consequens appetitum. et ille amor est triplex. quidam est non multum intensus. et ille vocatur ereos et ille non multum intrat in voluntate: sicut amor qui non intrat multum inter dentes: vt dicitur in prouerbiis. Alter est amor in mulieribus qui est multum intensus et assiduus circa mulierem principaliter

¹ See above, p. 504. The *Tractatus nonus*, without comment, is also accessible in the *Articella* of Petrus Hispanus (Lugd., 1533), pp. cccxxx-ccclv.

² As we have already seen in the case of John of Tornamira.

³ *Albubetri arazi filii zachariae Liber incipit qui ab eo Almansor vocatus est* . . . translatus ex arabico in latinum apud toletum a Herardo cremonensi, etc. Lugd., 1510 (John Crerar Library), fol. cxlix. Gerhard of Cremona (1114-87), whom Steinschneider calls "der fruchtbarste Uebersetzer des Mittelalters," ranks with Constantinus Africanus (see below, p. 513) as an intermediary between the Arabs and Western Europe. See Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 660, and especially Leclerc, II, 398-431.

⁴ See Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 695.

⁵ *Almansoris liber Nonus cum expositione Geraldii de Solo doctoris Montispezzulani*, Lugd., 1504 (John Crerar Library), foll. 39-41.

propter actus coitus exercendos. et talis vocatur amoreos. id est. amor nobilis a nobilitate dictus: quia multum fortis amor: quia milites magis conuenerunt habere istam passionem quam alii. ideo illi sunt coacti qui sunt in delitiis. et potest sic diffinire: amoreos est amor multum fortis seruens et assiduus circa mulierem propter actus coitus exercendos: et talis vocatur amoreos.

The remainder of the long passage has too much of the frankness of a medical treatise for quotation here. Its interest, apart from its obvious emphasis, lies in the curious distinction—peculiar to Gerard de Solo, so far as I know—between *hereos* and *amor hereos*; and in the fact that the phrase *amor hereos* is uniformly printed as a single word.¹

A third widely used work of Razi was the *Liber divisionum*. Its chapter (xi) "De amore" is succinct:²

Cura eius est assiduatio coytus et ieunium et deambulatio et ebrietas plurima assidue.³

Razi was followed by another noted physician whose name precedes his in Chaucer's list. Haly (Ali ben el-Abbas el-Majusi) died about 994, and his "Royal Book," *el-Maliki* (*Almaleki*, *Maleky*), was translated into Latin in 1127.⁴ I shall quote but a brief extract from his treatment of our theme.⁵

¶ De amore. Amor autem est animae sollicitudo in id quod amatur et cogitationis in id ipsum perseverantia. Cuius signa sunt oculorum profundatio, etc.

The rest of the treatment follows the usual course.

Almost contemporary with Haly was Abulkasim (Abulkasim Chalaf ben Abbas el-Zahrawi),⁶ best known for his contribution to

¹ Gerard de Solo also quotes the frog couplet, in the form: "Si quis amat ranam ranam cupit esse dianam."

² *Liber diuisionum* translatus in tilero a magistro Hererdo Cremonensi de arabico in latinum. Verba abubetri filii zachariae arasi. Lugd., 1510 (John Crerar Library), cap. xi, fol. vii.

³ There is also, in the Boston Public Library, a very beautiful fourteenth-century MS (formerly in the Ashburnham collection) of a treatise of Razi entitled *De aegritudinibus*. Its eleventh chapter, also "De amore," contains a brief description of the malady and a list of its symptoms, in addition to the cure. Inasmuch as Razi left behind over two hundred works, I have not attempted to identify the treatise.

⁴ See Leclerc, I, 381-88; Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 601-2; Daremberg, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits médicaux* (Paris, 1853), pp. 80-85.

⁵ *Haly filius Abbas. Liber totius medicinae necessaria continens*, etc., Lugd., 1523 (John Crerar Library). The discussion is found in the seventh chapter of the ninth book, "De melancolia et canina et amore causisque eorum et signis."

⁶ Known also as Alzaharavius, Alsarabi, Ezzahraui, etc. He lived about 912-1013. See Leclerc, I, 437-57; Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 602-5.

the development of surgery. His great work was the *Tesrif*, or *Altasrif*, which was early translated into Latin (by whom, is not known). The first two books of the *Tesrif* (as well as other sections of it) were printed separately, and it is an early edition of these that I have used.¹ The discussion of love is in the *Liber practicae*, Tractatus primus, sectio secunda, cap. xvii: "De amore et est excessus amoris."² The term *hereos* does not occur in the text; one of the rubrics, however, reads, "Causae amoris hereos." A few sentences will be sufficient to indicate the character of the chapter:

Signa dilectionis sunt, *quoniam* oculi sunt concaui. . . . Color vero faciei est citrinus & omnia sua membra sunt sicca. . . . Curatio primae speciei est vti frequenter coitu cum quacumque poterit & cum non dilecta & assidue ieiunare & itinerare & inebriare. Curatio vero secundae speciei est quod adhaereat ei quam diligit, & non abstineat videre ipsam . . . & inspicere viridaria & cursus aquarum & lumina & potare vinum, & esse cum sociis & audire parabolas & hystorias quae sollicitudinem ducunt . . . et elongari a rebus grauibus & horribilibus & prostrentur sibi in domo genera florum & herbarum odoriferarum sicut sunt rosae folia mirtae basilicon mellissa & folia citri & similia.

We have now reached one of the greatest names in the development of mediaeval medicine. Avicenna (Abn Ali el-Hosein ben Abdallah Ibn Sina) is of perhaps equal importance with Razi as a physician, and of incomparably greater weight and influence in other fields. On his amazing fecundity and on the organizing power of his genius it is unnecessary to dwell here.³ His great medical work—the bulk of which (although less than that of the vast *Continens* of Razi) is almost commensurate with its influence—is the *Liber Canonis*.⁴

¹ *Liber theoricæ necnon practicae Alsaharavii*, Aug. Vind., 1519 (John Crerar Library). On this edition see Leclerc, I, 448.

² Fol. xxxi.

³ Avicenna's dates are 980–1037. For brief accounts of his life and of his contribution to medicine see Leclerc, I, 466–77; Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 605–9.

⁴ The Arabic text is in the edition of 1593 (Rome). It was translated into Latin, toward the close of the twelfth century, by Gerhard of Cremona. I have used the Latin text in the editions of 1490, 1556, and 1582. That Chaucer had some knowledge of the *Liber Canonis* is clear from the well-known reference in the Pardoner's Tale (C 889–91):

But, certes, I suppose that Avicen
Wroot never in no canon, ne in no fen,
Mo wonder signes of empoisoning, etc.

But his curious use of the word "canon" (regarding which Professor Skeat's note is sound) seems to indicate that his acquaintance may have been at second hand. The same statement, however, must be made (I fear) in Professor Skeat's own case. For Avicenna's "De venenis" is Lib. IV, Fen VI, and not Fen I, as Skeat states.

The passage with which we are concerned is found in Liber III, Fen I, Tractatus IV, cap. 23, under the title: "De alhasch id est Amantibus."¹ And its treatment of the theme has influenced

¹ This is the title in the editions of 1556 and 1582. In the edition of 1490 the heading is "De ilisci." "Ilisci" also appears in the 1582 *text*, and both forms are recognized by later writers (see pp. 532, 535, 538). The older commentators give curious explanations of the term. In the glossary of Arabic terms ("Arabicorum nominum Bellunensis interpretatio") appended to the edition of 1582, *alhasch* is explained as follows: "*alhasch* sicut scribit Ebenesis est species volubilis quae involuitur super arbores, et exicca east, et ad eius similitudinem alhasch dicitur de quodam aegritudine quae exiccat patientem ipsam [sic], et removet ab eo colorem splendidum vitae." Further information(?) is given in an extremely interesting fourteenth-century work (see more fully p. 516 below), Ad-Damirîs *Hayât al-Hayawân* (a zoological lexicon). Under the word *al-Fâkhkhah* (a certain species of collared dove), at the close of a long disquisition on the various stages of love, the author discusses certain differences of opinion regarding the derivation of the terms he has used: "As to *al-ishk*, it is derived from *al-ashakah*, which is a plant that twists itself round the roots of trees that grow near it, and that are hardly able to free themselves of it excepting through death. Some say that *al-ashakah* is a certain yellow plant changed in its leaves, and that an ardent lover is named *ashik* on account of his yellow colour and the change in his state" (Vol. II, Pt. I, 489-92). I am indebted to the kindness of Professor George Foot Moore of Harvard University for the following note: "Avicenna, in the chapter to which you refer (ed. Rome, 1593, p. 316), treats of the malady called *al-ishq*. The name is not badly represented by *ilisci* (the final *i* is the Arabic case ending after the preposition *fi*, 'concerning'). *Alhasch* in the title in the editions of 1556 and 1582 is a less correct equivalent; the vowel *a* instead of *i* may have been suggested by the name of the plant *al-'asq* which your 'interpretatio' defines, but is more probably to be accounted for by ignorance of the proper pronunciation. 'De amantibus' is a free translation of the Arabic title.

"The verb *'asîqa* means 'be madly in love, wild with desire' (said, e.g., of a she-camel in heat); the affection may be honest or guilty, but, in distinction from *habba*, the common verb for 'love,' *'asîqa* always connotes excess. The noun *'isq* corresponds. (The medical use and definition you have from Avicenna himself.) The passionate lover is *'asîq* or *'asîq*; a woman beyond measure amorous of her husband is *'asîq*, etc.

"The native etymologists give various explanations how the passionate lover comes to be called *'asîq*. One says, 'he is so called because he withers away (literally, "loses his moisture, dries up") from the violence of desire.' Others connect the use in one way or another with *'asqah*, the name of a plant 'which is at first green, then shrivels and turns yellow.' So *Al-Zajjāj* (died ca. 311 A.H.). Ibn Doreid (died 321 A.H.), after defining the name of the plant, says, 'it is thought that from this the *'asîq* is so called, because of his withering away.' In the *Lisân*: '*'asîq*, because he withers away as the *'asqah* does when it is cut down.'

"What plant is meant is not certain. I have not run down the botanists; the general dictionaries say that in 'post-classical' authors it is the same as *lablāb*, and this is now a leguminous plant, *Dolichos lablab*, often called 'Egyptian bean.' Originally, *lablāb* was a climbing plant; ivy seems to be sometimes meant. Zamakhsarî (died 538 A.H.) in the *Asas* will have it that '*'isq* is derived from *'asq* (*lablāb*), because this plant attaches itself to a tree and clings to it.' The verb *'asîqa* (with the preposition *bi*) means 'cleave, or stick, to a person or thing.' Climbing plants are unknown in Arabia, as are also 'Egyptian beans'; these senses are necessarily 'post-classical.' The *Lisân* says that the name *'asqah* was given also to a thorny desert shrub (*'arāk*) on which camels feed.

"I have not found the explanation given in your 'interpretatio' in any of the dictionaries I have consulted; it is not plausible enough to be worth hunting. The etymologies of the Arab philologists I have quoted are the kind of thing etymologists have been doing since the craft existed. To take the name of the plant as the starting-point, and make the verb a metaphorical denominative is a mere play of ingenuity. But it is possible that the association in some form was known to Avicenna—the chronology would admit it—though in skimming the chapter I did not come upon anything that suggested this."

profoundly the occidental authorities already quoted. Avicenna's definition is as follows:

Haec aegritudo est sollicitudo melancholica similis melancholiae, in quo homo sibi iam induxit incitationem seu applicationem cogitationis suae continuam super pulchritudine ipsius quarundam formarum, et gestuum seu morum, quae insunt ei.

Among the *signa* are the now familiar details:

Et signa quidem eius sunt profunditas oculorum et siccitas ipsorum . . . et alteratur dispositio ipsius ad risum, et laetitiam aut ad tristitiam et fletum cum amoris cantilenas audit: et praecipue cum sit rememoratio repudii, et elongationis: et sunt omnia membra eius arefacta praeter oculos, etc.

The account of the pulse, and of its use in identifying the object of the lover's passion, follows in due course. The usual methods of *cure* are laid down, prominent among them the recourse to beldams, upon which Gordonius elaborated, and which is first found, so far as I know, in Avicenna. And the *setting* of the malady is that which we have elsewhere seen.¹

It will be remembered that Bernardus Gordonius quoted from *Viaticus*,² and after following many blind trails, I at last succeeded in identifying the passage. A number of the medical works we have been considering have a chapter (or even a book) "de itinere," which deals with the emergencies incident to travel. And there are also separate medical compendia for the traveler's needs.³ Among these perhaps the most remarkable is the *Viaticum* of that Constantinus Africanus who has achieved a bad eminence as Chaucer's "cursed monk Dan Constantyn."⁴ But just this notoriety is scarcely deserved. He is characterized by Pagel as "ein Mann, der zu den

¹ The chapters immediately preceding are "De mania et dispositione canina" . . . ; "De melancholia" . . . ; "De insania lupina, aut canina, vel de lycanthropia." Those which follow are "De vertigine"; "De contorsione"; "De epilepsia"; "De apoplexia"; "De paralyti"; etc.

² See above, p. 499.

³ See, for instance, the twelfth-century *Viaticus* of Aegidius Corboliensis (ed. Valentine Rose, Leipzig, 1907)—a most interesting treatise in verse.

⁴ E 1810-11. Cf. also A 433, where he is included among the Arabs in Chaucer's list. With Chaucer's epithet compare Thaddaeus Alderotti, *In Aph. Hipp. exposit.*, Venet., 1517, fol. 1: "Translationem Constantini persequar, non quia melior, sed quia communior; nam ipsa pessima est et defectiva et superflua; nam ille insanus monachus in transferendo peccavit quantitate et qualitate" (quoted by Daremberg, *Notices et Extraits*, p. 85). Thaddeus' dates are 1215-95; see Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 667-70s.

bedeutenderen Erscheinungen des Mittelalters zählt und dem das Verdienst zukommt, als Hauptvermittler arabischer Weisheit im Occident indirekt das Studium und die Kenntnis der griechischen Medizin wiederbelebt und gefördert zu haben, nämlich Constantinus Africanus, der daher auch das Ehrenprädikat eines medizinischen Präceptors des Abendlandes ('magister orientis et occidentis') erhalten hat."¹ Now the *Viaticum* is a translation of an Arabic work, the *Zad el-Mouçafir* (*Provision du voyageur*) of Abou Djafar Ahmed ben Ibrahim ben Abi Khâled,² the date of whose death is variously given as 961, 1004, and 1009.³ But Constantine was not the only translator of the *Zad el-Mouçafir*. It seems to have been almost immediately translated into Greek, for a Greek version of it is extant in a manuscript not later than the end of the tenth century, or the beginning of the eleventh.⁴ And the twentieth chapter (Περὶ ἔρωτος) of the first book is—on account of its references to Rufus of Ephesus—fortunately accessible.⁵ It is, as Daremberg remarks, "curieux" to the last degree, but I shall have to content myself with a couple of brief extracts. The first is the beginning of the chapter:

Ὁ μὲν ἔρως ὑπάρχει νοῦσος γεγεννημένη ἐν τῷ ἐγκεφάλῳ · ἔστι δὲ ὑπερβολὴ ἔρωτος, μετὰ συλλογισμοῦ καὶ ἀγρυπνίας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρακολουθοῦσιν αὐτῷ μεγιστώτεροι πόνοι τῆς ψυχῆς, φημὶ, ὁ συλλογισμὸς καὶ ἡ ἀγρυπνία. Εἶπε δὲ τις τῶν φιλοσόφων ὅτι ὁ ἔρως ὠνόμασται ἀγάπης ἐπίτασις · πολλάκις δὲ γίνεται ἡ αἰτία τοῦ ἔρωτος ἐξ ἀναγκαίας χρείας τῆς φύσεως εἰς τὸ ἀπωσάσθαι τὸ περιττὸν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος · ὁ δὲ σοφώτατος Ροῦφος ἔφη ὅτι ἡ συνουσία δύνῃσιν εἰς τοὺς ὑπερνικῶντας αὐτοὺς ἡ μελαίνα χολή, ἡ ἡ ἀφροσύνη · ἐπιστρέφει γὰρ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν τὴν τούτων φρόνησιν, καὶ διαλύει τὴν ἰσχυρότητα τοῦ ἔρωτος, καὶ τάχα εἰ συνουσιάζει τὸν μὴ ἐρώμενον, καὶ μαλάσσει αὐτοῖς τὴν σκληρίαν.⁶

¹ I, 643. So Daremberg: "il a reçu et il mérite à tous égards le titre de *Restaurateur des lettres médicales en Occident*" (p. 86). For the salient facts in his career, which ended in 1087, see Leclerc, I, 539–41; II, 356–66; Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 643–45.

² See the valuable *Recherches* on the subject by Ch. Daremberg, *Notices et Extraits des manuscrits médicaux grecs, latins et français des principales bibliothèques de l'Europe*, Paris, 1853, pp. 63–100. And compare Leclerc, II, 360–63; Pucinotti, *Storia della medicina*, II¹, 333 ff. The *Viaticum* is sometimes wrongly attributed to Gerard of Cremona, Isaac Judaeus, or Gerard of Berry. See Cholmeley, *John of Gaddesden*, pp. 171, 179; *Collectio Salernitana*, 5, 117. Cf. Bernardus Gordonius: "propter dictum . . . Gerardi supra viaticum" (*Lilium medicinae*, Partic. II, cap. 10).

³ Daremberg, p. 77.

⁴ See Daremberg, p. 77, and *passim*.

⁵ It is printed entire in Daremberg et Ruelle, *Œuvres de Rufus d'Éphèse* (Paris, 1879), Appendice, section iv, pp. 582–84. For the full list of chapters of the *Éphodes* see Daremberg, *Notices et Extraits*, pp. 65 ff.

⁶ *Œuvres de Rufus*, p. 582. The sentence that immediately follows I shall quote below in another connection. See p. 531.

The bulk of the chapter is a panegyric on wine-bibbing as a cure for love. The following must suffice as a sample:

Καὶ διαλογισμῶν ἐξαίρεται τὸ οἶνοποτεῖν μετὰ τραγωδίας καὶ μουσουργίας καὶ διηγήμασι φίλων καὶ ἀκοντίζεσθαι μέλος ἱαμβικοῦ · καὶ βλέπειν περιβόλαια χλοερά, καὶ πρόσωπα ἀνθηρὰ καὶ εὐθαλῇ · φησὶ γὰρ ὁ Ροῦφος ὅτι ὁ οἶνος φάρμακον μέγιστόν ἐστι τῶν φοβουμένων καὶ ἐρώντων. . . . Ἐφη δὲ καὶ ὁ Ροῦφος ὅτι οὐ μόνον ὁ οἶνος πινόμενος συμμέτρως ἐξαπλοῖ τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ ἀποδιώκει ἐξ αὐτῆς τὴν λύπην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕτερα πάλιν ποιούσι τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὡς τὰ εὐκρατα λουτρὰ καὶ θερμὰ, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων ἐγείρει αὐτοὺς ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτῶν, ὅταν εἰσέρχωνται ἐν τῷ βαλανίῳ συμμέτρως μελωδεῖν καὶ τραγωδεῖν.¹

And the chapter ends:

αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ἡ ὁδὸς θεραπείας τῶν ἐρώντων · καὶ ταύτην ἐφανερῶσαμεν · καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν διέλθε τὴν τριβὴν ταύτην, καθὼς ὑπεδείξαμεν ἐν παντὶ ὁδῷ καὶ τὸν διαλογισμὸν τὸν προρρήθέντα ἀποδιώκων καὶ τὴν λύπην ἐξωθῶν.²

The question whether Constantine's *Viaticum* is a direct translation from the Arabic, or is based (wholly or in part) on the Greek, is, for us, a somewhat important one, for Constantine's use of the word *hereos* is the earliest I have found. Daremberg pronounces definitely³ in favor of the first view, and with his conclusion (but not with his method of reaching it) Leclerc seems to agree.⁴ The only exception to Daremberg's main general argument, as he observes, is in the very chapter with which we are concerned.⁵ I shall quote at once the passages in the *Viaticum* which correspond to those I have already quoted from the Greek:

Amor qui dicitur hereos morbus est cerebro contiguus. est autem magnum desiderium cum magna concupiscentia et afflictione cogitationum: unde quidem philosophi dicunt: hereos enim est nomen magnae dilectionis. aliter delectationis designativum: sicut enim fidelitas est dilectionis ultimitas: ita et hereos dilectionis.⁶ aliter delectationis est quaedam extremitas. Aliquando huius amoris causa nimia naturae est necessitas in multa humorum superfluitate expellenda: unde ruffus coitus inquit valere videtur quibus nigra colera et melancolia dominantur: eis sensus redditur et molestatio hereosis tollitur si cum dilectis loquantur. aliter locantur.⁷

¹ P. 583. ² P. 584. ³ Pp. 86-100. ⁴ II, 361-63. And cf. Pucinotti, as above.

⁵ "Dans le *Viatique*, je n'ai relevé qu'un seul mot grec appartenant à la langue ordinaire, et qui ne soit pas une transcription de l'arabe, c'est *hereos*, pour *amor* (I, xx); ce mot a même servi à forger le barbarisme *hereosus*" (p. 89).

⁶ This is the sentence which Gordonius quotes—evidently from memory. See above, p. 499.

⁷ *Breviarium Constantini dictum viaticum*, Lugd., 1510 (John Crerar Library), Liber primus, cap. xx: "De amore qui dicitur hereos." This, and not the modernized text of 1536, is the authoritative edition. See Daremberg, p. 86.

The second passage is as follows:

Quid melius hereosos adiuuat ne in cogitationes profundentur nimias: vinum temperatum et odoriferum dandum est: *et* audire genera musicorum: colloqui dilectis amicis: versuum recitatio: luciferos videre ortos: odoriferos *et* fructiferos: currentem habentes aquam et claram: spatiari: seu deducere cum femina seu maribus: pulchrae personae. ¶ Ruffus vinum inquit: est medicina fortis tristibus et timidis *et* hereosis. . . . Item ruffus non solum modo vinum temperate bibitum aufert tristitiam: sed *et* alia quidem sibi similia: sicut balneum temperatum: vnde sit vt quidam balneum ingrediantur ad cantandum animantur.

And the chapter ends:

haec est via medicinae circa hereoseos exercenda.

I do not know Arabic, and so cannot compare the two translations with their original. Where Daremberg does so (he appends a French translation of the Arabic), his argument seems to be convincing. But in this particular chapter the correspondence between the Latin and the Greek is closer than in any of the parallels which Daremberg cites, and it is almost impossible to escape the conclusion that in this passage at least Constantine had the Greek as well as the Arabic before him. I shall return to this point briefly a little later.¹

In Ad-Damîrîs *Hayât al-Hayawân*, of which mention has already been made,² occurs the fullest statement that I have found of the *stages* of the love-malady.³

'Abd-ar Raḥmân b. Naṣr states that physicians hold *ardent and excessive love* (*al-'ishk*) to be a disease arising from sight and hearing. . . . It is of

¹ See below, p. 522. The only other one of Constantine's works which I have been able to consult is *De communibus medico cognitu necessariis locis*, Basle, 1539 (Boston Medical Library). The eighth chapter of the ninth book is entitled, "De melancholia et amore ['timore' in the heading; 'amore' correctly in the *Tabula* qui eros dicitur" (pp. 249-50). Constantine's definition is as follows: "Amor est confidentia animae suspiciosa in re amata, et cogitationis in eadem assiduitas." The *signa* and the setting are as usual.

² See above, p. 512. The work is translated from the Arabic by Lt. Colonel A. S. G. Jayakar (London and Bombay, 1906). Ad-Damîrî was born at Cairo in 1349 (or 1341). I am indebted to Professor Leo Wiener for calling my attention to the work as a possible source of information.

³ Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 489-92. The disquisition on love, as has been noted, is under the name of a certain species of dove, *al-Fâkhitah*, and the connection (which, to judge from the method of the *Lexicon* in general, is a luxury rather than a necessity) seems to be that the bird is described by the Arabs as a liar—a view which in turn is based upon an engaging anecdote of Solomon, who had overheard a *fâkhitah* making a rather preposterous statement, and asked it why it said what it did. "It replied, 'O prophet of God, I am a lover, and a lover ought not to be blamed; the words of lovers ought to be folded up and not repeated.'" The "Information" given above then follows.

several degrees and has several stages following one another; the first . . . is called *approval* . . . which arises from sight and hearing; this stage gains in strength by remembering for a long time the good points and beautiful qualities of the object of love, and then becomes *affection*. . . .

The various stages are described, through *love*, *sincere love*, and *passion*:

This state [*passion*] gains in strength, and becomes *ardent and excessive love* (*al-'ishk*), which is excessive love beyond bounds to such an extent that the imagination of the ardent lover is never free from the object of his ardent love, and consideration and remembrance of the object of love are never absent from his thoughts and mind; the mind is diverted from the promptings of sensual energies, and the lover is prevented from eating and drinking . . . and also from thinking, remembering, imagining, and sleeping. . . . When ardent love becomes strong, it becomes *love-madness* . . . , in which state there is no room left in the mind of the lover for anything but the picture of the object of his ardent love. . . . If this state increases, it becomes *love-stupefaction* . . . , which is passing beyond all bounds and restraint, so that the very quality of the lover changes, and his state is beyond management; he mutters to himself, and does not know what he says and where he goes. At this stage physicians are unable to treat him.

Hereupon follows a discussion of the relation of *al-'ishk* to the three cells of the head,¹ and the discussion of its etymology already quoted.²

It is evident, accordingly, that the occidental conception of *hereos* was profoundly influenced by the Arabic doctrine of *al-'ishq*. But the Arabs themselves were drawing upon another source.³

IV

Love as a malady was definitely recognized by the great Greek physicians. And it was in their pages that the Arabic writers found the suggestion for the doctrine, on which they soon set their own distinctive seal.⁴

¹ See below, p. 527.

² See above, p. 512, n. 1.

³ I have found no reference to *hereos* in *Iani Damasceni decapolitani summae inter Arabes auctoritatis medici therapeuticae methodi, hoc est, curandi artis Liber VII* (Basle, 1543); or in the *Liber de medicina Auerrois* (Venice, 1514); or in *Abhomeron Abynozohar, colliget Auerroes* (Venice, 1514); or in the *Practica Jo. Serapionis dicta breuiarium* (Venice, 1497). The *Dissertatio de amore physico* of Ibn Baddschah (+1138), referred to in Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 613, I have not seen.

⁴ See Leclerc's discussion (I, 231-58) of the Greek medical writers translated by the Arabs, and compare the list of Greek physicians whom Razi cites (Leclerc, I, 342-43).

In the vast collection of works attributed to Hippocrates¹ I have made no thorough search, and the indices available—even in the great edition of Littré—give little help. But before Galen (130–200 A.D.)² the subject was certainly treated.³ Even in Galen, however, I know of no separate consideration of the malady. But specific references to it appear in a number of passages. A single excerpt will be sufficient for our purpose:

. . . τοὺς δ' ἤτοι καταλεπτονομένους ἢ ἀχροῦντας ἢ ἀγρυπνοῦντας ἢ πυρέξαντας ἐπὶ προφάσεσιν ἐρωτικαῖς ἐν ἐκείνῳ τοῦ λόγου τῷ κεφαλαίῳ περιλαμβάνουσιν οἱ παλαιοί, κτλ.⁴

Elsewhere, too, Galen refers to the leanness of lovers, and especially to the quickening of the pulse at the sight of the object of the lover's passion.⁵ In the later writers, however, either in connection with the discussion of mania or melancholy, or as constituting a section by itself, the treatment of ἔρως as one of the recognized cerebral maladies becomes explicit.

The date of Caelius Aurelianus, the translator of Sorano of Ephesus—whose period (probably, however, early in the second century A.D.) is also doubtful—is not definitely known. On linguistic grounds his work is assigned to the fourth or early fifth century A.D.⁶ From his treatment of *mania* I shall quote but a single passage, for the sake of its last word. The fifth chapter of the first book of the *Chronion* is entitled: “De furore sive insania, quam Graeci Manian vocant,” and it begins as follows:

Magna Grecorum vetustas manian appellabat, quae nunc mantice dicta est. Item alium, inquit, ex Libero fieri patre: alium ex amore, et appellavit eroticum.⁷

¹ Third or fourth century B.C. See Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 196–235.

² See Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 373–402.

³ See the quotation from Galen below. I have had no opportunity to identify οἱ παλαιοί.

⁴ *Galen comm. I. in Hipp. Prognostic.*, ed. Kühn, Vol. XVIII, Pars ii, p. 18. The Latin translation reads:

Verum eos qui prae amore vel emaciati sunt vel pallent vel vigilant vel etiam febricitant sub eo libri capite veteres comprehendunt, etc.

⁵ *Galen comm. II. in Hippocr. de humor.*, ed. Kühn, XVI, 308–10; cf. also XVIII, ii, 40. An actual example of this method of diagnosis—the patient in this case being a woman—is given in the treatise *De praenotione ad Posthumum*, ed. Kühn, XIV, 631–33.

⁶ See Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 345.

⁷ *Medicini Antiqui Omnes*, Venice, 1547, fol. 257.

It is, however, in connection with Oribasius¹ that we can first observe the curious passage of the Greek word into a barbarized Latin form. The ninth chapter of the eighth book of the *Σύνοψις* is entitled *Περὶ τῶν ἐρώωντων*.² Now the Latin translations of Oribasius are not only very early but also of unusual linguistic interest.³ And the chapter we are concerned with is readily accessible in the text of two of the oldest MSS—the Paris MS lat. 10233, of the sixth century, and the Laon MS No. 424, of the tenth.⁴ The sixth-century translation refers to the malady merely as *amor*.⁵ But the tenth-century text employs another term. Its title reads: “Ad eos qui de amore contristantur, quos Greci *ton heroton* vocant.” I shall give the brief chapter, together with the Greek text of certain passages:

Qui autem de amore egrotant,⁶ et contristantur animo et insomnietatem nescientes patiuntur; alii balneum utentis in requiem positi . . . expenderunt: ex his enim invenimus *ton heroton*, id est qui de amore consumitur, ex balneis et vini potionem et auditum cogitationes inposuimus;⁷ aliis autem timorem indiximus, imponentes tractatos super quod amabat, vix deponenda passionem⁸ ad aliquas filonicias excitare et secundum hypotesis, quae praedictae sunt vitae uniuscujusque. Subsecuntur autem quidem amorem languint, quorum sunt haec signa: oculi sunt concavi et non lacrimantur; videntur autem sicut qui laborem sunt pleni; moventur enim eis palpebre frequenter plus ab alio membro, proprium locum quiescant solis *heroton*.⁹

[*Περὶ*] *τῶν ἐρώωντων* has accordingly been carried over as *ton heroton*

¹ Born about 325 A.D. For this important writer see Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 513–21.

² *Œuvres d'Oribase*, ed. Bussemaker et Daremberg, Paris, 1873, V, 413–14.

³ See Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 519–20, and the references there given.

⁴ *Œuvres d'Oribase*, VI, 215. See Molinier, in the preface to this volume, pp. xviii–xix, for an account of the MSS, and compare V, v–vii, and Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 520.

⁵ Its title is: “De amore aegrotantibus,” and it begins: “Qui de amore aegrotant, tristitiam incurrentes animi insomnietatem patiuntur.”

⁶ τοὺς δὲ ἐρώοντας δυσθυμούμενους. . . .

⁷ ἐπὶ ὧν ἐξευρόντες ἡμεῖς τὸν ἔρωτα ἐπὶ τε λουτρὰ καὶ οἰνοποσίαν αἰωρήσεις τε καὶ θεάματα καὶ ἀκοσμήματα τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπηγάγομεν.

⁸ ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ φόβον ἐπηρτήσαμεν ὅτι γὰρ σχολάζοντες αἰεὶ τῷ ἔρωτι δυσκίνητον ἔχουσι τὸ πάθος. . . .

⁹ κινεῖται δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ βλέφαρα θαμινά, τῶν τε ἄλλων τοῦ σώματος μερῶν συμπίπτόντων, οὗτοι μόνοι τοῖς ἐρώσιν οὐ συμπίπτουσιν. What Molinier says of Laon No. 424 in general—“le latin de ce manuscrit est extrêmement barbare”—is certainly borne out by this particular chapter. That the characteristic *setting* of the malady which we have already observed goes back to the Greek writers is shown by the list of the first ten chapters of Book VIII of the *Synopsis*: 1. περὶ μνήμης ἀπωλείας; 2. περὶ ἐφιάλτου; 3–4. περὶ ἐπιληψίας; 5. περὶ σκοτωματικῶν; 6. περὶ ἀποπληξίας; 7. περὶ μελαγχολίας; 8. περὶ μανίας; 9. περὶ τῶν ἐρώωντων; 10. περὶ λυκανθρωπίας.

(now an accusative plural), which the translator then proceeds to use as an accusative singular (where the Greek is τὸν ἔρωτα) and also as a dative plural (for the Greek τοῖς ἐρώσιν). So far as the malady itself is concerned, the discussion in Oribasius, in its relation to the mediaeval treatises, needs no comment.

Paul of Aegina lived during the first half of the seventh century,¹ and his influence (like that of Oribasius), especially upon the Arabic physicians, was very great. Inasmuch, however, as I have had no opportunity to see either the Greek text or any Latin translation earlier than that of Guintherus Andernacus (1532), I shall confine myself to the statement that his chapter "De amantibus"² is very similar to the treatment of Oribasius.

We may note briefly two other passages in which the Greek form of the word appears. The first is from the *Speculum Doctrinale* long attributed to Vincent of Beauvais (+1264). The fifty-ninth chapter of the fourteenth book is entitled: "De melancholia nigra et canina, et amore qui dicitur eros."³ The second is from an *opusculum*—*Modus accipiendi aurum potabile*—attributed to Raymond Lully (+1315).⁴ *Aurum potabile*, it is pointed out, is good for all diseases of the head—lethargy, loss of memory, stupor, etc. The tractate then proceeds:

Maniam verò et melancholiam, quae sunt corruptiones animi cum aqua boraginis, et omnes has desipientias, in eodem instanti curat, et similiter amorem qui dicitur ἔρωτικὸς.

The brief citations in this section make clear the fundamental fact that the "lover's malady" was recognized as such in Greek medicine. The significance of this recognition for the history of the word itself needs separate consideration.

¹ See Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 548–56.

² Lib. III, cap. xvii. In the text of Guintherus Andernacus (*Paulus Aeginetae Opus de re medica*, Paris, 1532), pp. 22–23; cf. *The Seven Books of Paulus Aegineta*, Sydenham Soc., 1844, I, 390–91. The order of treatment is vertigo, epilepsy, melancholy, maniacs and demoniacs, incubus, lycanthropy, lovers, apoplexy and paralysis, spasms.

³ I have seen no earlier text than that of the monumental Benedictine edition of 1624. A few sentences from the chapter will be sufficient to indicate its tenor: ". . . amor est animae confidentia suspiciosa in eo quod amatur cogitationis in illud assiduitas. Huius signa sunt oculorum concavitas, et eorum assidua motio maximeque palpebrarum," etc.

⁴ It is found in the *Artis auriferae quam chemiam vocant* (Basle, 1610), III, 78. But the attribution is probably wrong. See p. 286 of the great article on Raimond Lulle, in *Hist. littér.*, XXIX, 1–386.

V

I have emphasized, in the last section, the forms in which *ἔρως* and *ἔρωτικός* have come over into Latin, because of their bearing on the puzzling form of the word *hereos* itself. And it may be well, at this point, to dwell for a moment on the facts and their significance.¹

That *hereos*, so far as its *form* is concerned, is a barbarous derivative from *ἔρως* there can be, I think, no doubt. I shall summarize briefly the pertinent facts. The name of the malady itself appears in Latin under the form *eros*,² *ereos*,³ *hereos*,⁴ *heroys*,⁵ and *hercos*.⁶ *Hereos* (or *ereos*) appears either alone (that is, uncombined with *amor*),⁷ or in the phrase *amor hereos*.⁸ Whether alone or in combination it is always uninflected.⁹ The following adjective forms also occur: *hereosus*,¹⁰ *herosus*,¹¹ *hereseus(-ius)*,¹²

¹ For a definitive statement of the evidence a study of the *manuscripts* of all the writers involved would be essential. That, however, has obviously been impossible.

² Constantine, in the *De communibus* (above, p. 516, n. 1); *Speculum doctrinale* (above, p. 520).

³ *Continens Rasis* (above, pp. 507-8); John of Gaddesden, with *hereos* (above, p. 503); Gerardus de Solo (above, pp. 509-10).

⁴ Constantine, in the *Viaticum* (above, pp. 515-16); *Liber practicae Alsaharavii*, rubric (above, pp. 510-11); Arnaldus de Villanova, with *heroys* (above, p. 496, n. 3); Bernardus Gordonius (above, pp. 497-502); John of Gaddesden, with *ereos* (above, pp. 502-3); Valescus de Taranta (above, pp. 505-7); John of Tornamira (above, pp. 504-5); Michael Savonarola (below, p. 532); Paracelsus (below, pp. 533-34).

⁵ Arnaldus de Villanova (above, p. 496).

⁶ Bernardus Provincialis (above, p. 507, n. 2). And cf. the Harleian MS (above, p. 492, n. 5).

⁷ In Constantine, the *Continens* of Razi, Arnaldus de Villanova (whose usual form is *heroys*), Bernardus Gordonius, Gerardus de Solo (as distinguished from *amoreeros*), Valescus de Taranta (who also uses *amor hereos*), and Savonarola.

⁸ In the rubric to the *Liber practicae Alsaharavii*, John of Gaddesden, Gerardus de Solo (in the form *amoreeros*), John of Tornamira, Valescus de Taranta, and Paracelsus.

⁹ "de coturub vel ereos; de prognosticatione . . . ereos; patientes ereos" (*Continens*); "causa amoris hereos" (rubric, *Liber practicae Alsaharavii*); "signa hereos" (Arnaldus); "in amore ereos; amori ereos" (John of Gaddesden); "de amore hereos; amoris hereos" (John of Tornamira); "causa hereos" (Valescus de Taranta). *Heroys* in Arnaldus is commonly uninflected ("causa heroys; cura heroys"). In two passages in the *Liber de parte operativa*, however, Arnaldus seems to use *heroy* as a plural of *heroys*: "propter hoc inter virum et mulierem heroy cumulant frequentia conversationis et ratiocinandi" (f. 128); "similiter autem quorum vita aspera et penosa si heroy capiantur parum eos distrahit similis occupatio" (f. 129).

¹⁰ Constantine, in *Viaticum* (e.g., "vinum . . . est medicina . . . hereosis"); Gordonius (e.g., "hereosi et nobiles").

¹¹ Valescus ("herosus amor").

¹² Arnaldus ("inanitos et heresios"); Constantine ("circa hereseos exercenda").

and *heroicus*.¹ To these must be added the uninflected *ton heroton* of the Laon MS of Oribasius; the *eroticon* of Caelius Aurelianus; the Ἑρωτικός of the pseudo-Lully; and finally the testimony of Senner-tus² to the term *Herotikos* as used by the "Barbari" for those who labor under *Hereos*.³

The earliest use of *hereos* that I have found is that in Constantine's *Viaticum*. Now if Constantine had before him (as I am strongly inclined to think that he did) the Greek text as well as the Arabic, the following is what happened:⁴

ὁ μὲν ἔρωσ ὑπάρχει νοῦσος

Amor qui dicitur hereos morbus est. . . .

ἔστι δὲ ὑπερβολὴ ἔρωτος, μετὰ συλλογισμοῦ καὶ ἀγρυπνίας.

est autem magnum desiderium cum magna concupiscentia et afflictione cogitationum.

ὁ ἔρωσ ὠνόμασται ἀγάπης ἐπίστασις.

hereos enim est nomen magnae dilectionis.

πολλάκις δὲ γίνεται ἡ αἰτία τοῦ ἔρωτος ἐξ ἀναγκαίας χρείας τῆς φύσεως εἰς τὸ ἀπάσασθαι τὸ περιττὸν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος.

Aliquando huius amoris causa nimia naturae est necessitas in multa humorum superfluitate expellenda.

κἂν τάχα εἰ συνουσιάζει τὸν μὴ ἐρώμενον καὶ διαλύει τὴν ἰσχυρότητα τοῦ ἔρωτος.

et molestatio hereosis tollitur si cum dilectis loquantur.

πολλάκις γίνεται ἡ αἰτία τοῦ ἔρωτος.

aliquando etiam hereos causa.

καὶ εἰ μὴ ἱατρευθῇ ὁ ἔρωσ.

unde si non hereosis succuratur.

¹ Arnaldus (*passim*); Valescus ("pauci . . . nunc efficiuntur heroici"). Of these four adjectives the first two are always used substantively of those who are afflicted with the malady. *Herosus* I have found only in the phrase above. Arnaldus' usage in the case of *heroicus* is peculiar. In the *Tractatus de amore qui heroicus nominatur* the noun *heroys* (or *hereos*) does not occur at all, but instead of it the phrase *amor heroicus*, which is also employed, this time along with *heroys*, in the *Liber de parte operativa*. In the latter treatise (but not in the *Tractatus*) Arnaldus uses the adjective *heroicus* substantively (as Valescus regularly does) for those who suffer from *heroys* (e.g., "quemadmodum heroicy accidit").

² See below, p. 535.

³ Cf. Rondeletius (below, p. 534): "Hos Graeci ἑρωτικούς vocant"; Forestus (below, p. 000): "Vocatur autem Graecis ἔρωσ, Romanis Amor."

⁴ For the edition of the Greek text see p. 514, n. 5; for the Latin, p. 515, n. 7.

φησὶ γὰρ ὁ Ῥούφος ὅτι ὁ οἶνος φάρμακον μέγιστόν ἐστι τῶν φοβουμένων καὶ ἐρώντων.

Ruffus vinum inquit: est medicina fortis tristibus et timidis et hereosis.

αὕτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς θεραπείας τῶν ἐρώντων.

haec est via medicinae circa hereseos exercenda.¹

If, then, Constantine used the Greek text at all, it is obvious that he knew Greek well enough to employ *eros* (as he seemingly does elsewhere)² as a transliteration of ἔρως. The barbarism *hereos*, that is, can scarcely be attributed to him. His opening words—“*Amor qui dicitur hereos*”³—point rather to his use of a term already current. In other words, the first use of the term *hereos* is to be sought, I am convinced, in some such early Latin translation of a Greek medical text as that which has given us, in the Laon MS of Oribasius, *ton heroton*. The initial *h* need offer no difficulty in any case. The freedom with which it was added and subtracted in vulgar Latin is a commonplace.⁴ As for the *-eos*, no confusion of cases—witness the amazing treatment of *ton heroton* itself—seems to have been impossible, and a Greek genitive form of the wrong declension used as a nominative, at any time between the sixth and tenth centuries, one may assume with modesty enough and likelihood to lead it.⁵

But transmutation of *form* is not the only anomaly that is involved. There is confusion of *meaning* as well. For it cannot be doubted that, once started on its way, *hereos* (*ereos*) came to be associated, in the minds of those who used it, with the Latin *herus* (*erus*).

¹ In only one instance does Constantine use *hereos* or *hereosus* (*hereseus*) where ἔρως or some form of ἐρῶ does not occur in the Greek.

² See above, p. 516, n. 1.

³ Cf. also τοῦ ἔρωτος = *huius amoris* above.

⁴ See Grandgent, *An Introduction to Vulgar Latin* (Boston, 1907), §§ 249–52, with the references there cited—especially the list of words with an acquired aspirate in Seelmann, *Die Aussprache des Latein nach physiologisch-historischen Grundsätzen*, p. 266; cf. Rönisch, *Italia und Vulgata*, pp. 462–63. Compare, for that matter, Chaucer's own Hadabrate, Helie, Herines, Hester, and Hugelyn. To which may be added the history of such a word as “hermit.”

⁵ Compare, for the same sort of thing, Chaucer's own *Metamorphoseos* for *Metamorphoseon* (B 93). The form *hercos* in Bernardus Provincialis (see above, p. 507, n. 2) may easily be explained as a scribal error, since *c* and *e* might readily be confused. The occurrence of the same form in the Harleian MS of Chaucer (see above, p. 492) may, of course, be due to an independent error of the same sort. It is possible, however, that the erroneous form *hercos* may have persisted alongside *hereos*, and that the Harleian scribe was familiar with that form rather than the other. It is also possible (although I scarcely venture to think it probable) that the original use of *hercos* was due, not to a scribal error, but to the influence of *heroicus*, used as Arnaldus and Valescus employ it.

I have given above the etymological attempts of Arnaldus de Villanova,¹ Bernardus Gordonius,² John of Tornamira,³ Valescus of Tarranta,⁴ and Gerardus de Solo,⁵ and that of Savonarola will be found below.⁶ They are, I think, conclusive, and Hauréau's statement, already quoted,⁷ that "Arnauld dérive le mot *heroicus* du Latin *herus* et non du grec *ἔρως*,"⁸ is no less applicable in the case of *hereos* in general.⁹ And it cannot be doubted that there was, especially in the case of Arnaldus' *heroys* and *heroicus*, a confusion with *heros* (*ἦρως*) as well. Just that confusion is absolutely certain later,¹⁰ and it is very clear that it influenced the *forms*, at least, which Arnaldus employs.¹¹

What we have, then, is the Greek *ἔρως*, more or less technically used to start with, into which by a process of transfusion there have passed the exotic oriental associations of the Arabic *al-'išq*; which has been still further modified by confusion with the Latin *herus* (quite certainly with *heros* too); which has assumed a form that is not its own; which (as we have yet to see) undergoes still stranger metamorphosis in the brain of Paracelsus; and which, after such vicissitudes, has slipped absolutely out of the memory of man. Chaucer's *Hereos*, then, is Eros after all—but with a difference! The commentators have guessed the Eros that they knew, but *this* Eros has traveled far, and by strange ways, from *that*.¹² Few words, indeed, have had a more extraordinary history, and the tracing of it has a value quite apart from the light it throws on the passages in which it has survived, unrecognized.

¹ See above, p. 496.

² P. 504, above.

³ P. 510, above.

⁴ P. 499, above.

⁵ P. 505, above.

⁶ P. 533, below.

⁷ P. 497, n. 3.

⁸ The sentence in the *Liber de parte operativa* (which Hauréau apparently had not observed) is even more conclusive: "et graece dicitur heroys, idest domina rationis" (see p. 000, above).

⁹ The statement of John of Tornamira is curious: "nam hereos grece est *multum delectabile latine*." I am inclined to think that John of Tornamira was drawing on the *Viaticum* (see above, p. 515, lines 3-5 of the quotation) for his suggestion.

¹⁰ See Savonarola and Ferrand, pp. 533, 538, below. If a quotation in Burton is correct, the form *heros* is used of a lover in Guinerius, cap. 15, tract. 15: "potissima cura est ut heros amasiâ suâ potiatur" (*Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part III, Sec. II, Mem. V, Subs. V, ed. Shilleto, III, 263).

¹¹ If, not knowing Greek, he found *heroticus* (see below, p. 535) in his authorities, the supposed correction to *heroicus* would be an easy one, and might possibly have given the peculiar noun form *heroys*. Of course, on the other hand, he may have built his adjective on his noun, in which case the *y* of *heroys* has probably some such origin as the *e* of *hereos*.

¹² Even Thynne's guess of *hereos* had been made before him—but there is no indication that he knew its real significance.

VI

We may now come back for a moment to Chaucer. It will be seen at a glance that the passage in the *Knight's Tale* might almost be a paraphrase of a chapter on *hereos* from one of the medical treatises themselves.¹ The fewest parallels will suffice.

His sleep, his mete, his drink is him biraft,

Signa autem sunt quando amittunt somnum, cibum, potum [Gordonius];
appetitum . . . comedendi postponunt et usum negligunt comestionis
[Arnaldus].

That lene he wex,

Et maceratur totum corpus [Gordonius]; et potius maceratur [Arnaldus]; et fiunt macri [Valescus].

and drye as is a shaft.

Et eorum corpora desiccantur [Razi]; omnia sua membra sunt sicca [Albucasim]; et sunt omnia membra eius arefacta [Avicenna].

¹ It is, in all probability, not that. Chaucer found many of the *signa* already in the *Teseide*, and proceeded to rearrange and combine them in the light of his knowledge of the malady. The stanzas in Boccaccio are as follows (*La Teseide*, Lib. IV, st. 26-29, *Opere volgari de Giovanni Boccaccio*, ed. Moutier, Vol. IX, pp. 128-29):

26

E benchè di più cose e' fosse afflitto,
E che di viver gli giovasse poco,
Sopra d'ogn' altra doglia era trafitto
Da amor nel core, e non trovava loco;
E giorno e notte senza alcun rispetto
Sospir gettava caldi come foco;
E lagrimando sovente doleasi,
E ben nel viso il suo dolor pareasi.

27

Egli era tutto quanto divenuto
Sì magro, che assai agevolmente
Ciascun suo osso si sarie veduto:
Nè credo che Erisitone altrimenti
Fosse nel viso, ch'era egli, paruto,
Nel tempo della sua fame dolente:
E non pur solamente pallid' era,
Ma la sua pelle pareva quasi nera.

28

E nella testa appena si vedieno
Gli occhi dolenti, e le guance lanute
Di folto pelo e nuovo comparieno;
E le sue ciglia pilose ed agute
A riguardare orribile il facieno,
Le chiome tutte rigide ed irsute:
E sì era del tutto trasmutato,
Che nullo non l'avria raffigurato.

29

La voce similmente era fuggita,
Ed ancora la forza corporale:
Perchè a tutti una cosa ora reddita
Qua sù di sopra dal chiostro infernale
Parea, piuttosto ch' altra stata in vita:
Nè la cagion, onde venia tal male,
Nessun da lui giammai saputo avea,
Ma una per un' altra ne dicea.

s eyen holwe,

Eius oculi sunt concavi [Albucasim]; et oculi sicci et concavi [Razi];
et oculi concavantur [Arnaldus]; et signa ejus sunt profunditas
oculorum [Avicenna].

His hewe falwe,

Et eorum facies sunt croceae propter vigilias [Razi]; citrui sunt ipsorum
colores [Constantine]; color vero faciei est citrinus [Albucasim]; an
ardent lover is named *'āshik* on account of his yellow color [Ad-Damīr].

And wailling al the night, making his mone.

Pacientes ereos incedunt stridendo et clamando tota
nocte [Razi].

And if he herde song or instrument,

Then wolde he wepe.

Alteratur dispositio ejus ad tristitiam et fletum, cum amoris
cantilenas audit [Avicenna]; et si audiant cantilenas de separatione
amoris, statim incipiunt flere et tristari [Gordonius].

And chaunged so, that no man coude knowe

His speche nor his voys.

So that the very quality of the lover changes he mutters to
himself, and does not know what he says [Ad-Damīr].

In the immediate connection between *hereos* and *mania*, too, Chaucer is sound in his diagnosis. The chapter on *hereos* immediately follows the chapter on *mania* and melancholy in Gordonius; it immediately precedes the chapter on *mania* in Valescus; the discussion of *hereos* is a part of the chapter on *mania* and melancholy in John of Gaddesden—and so on. The common prognostic of *hereos* is *mania*:

Nisi hereosis succuratur, in maniam cadunt vel moriuntur [Gordonius];
nisi huic furiae obvietur, melancholiam parit in posterum, et, ut saepe contigit, praeparat in maniam [Arnaldus].

Mania, moreover, might be directly “engendred of humour malencolyk”:

Causa igitur immediata est humor melancholicus, corruptus inficiens cerebrum.¹

It might also, of course, arise from a *vitium* of any one of the four humors— “quandoque ex sanguine. quandoque ex cholera: quando-

¹ *Lilium medicinae*, Part. II, cap. xix, “De mania et melancholia.” See also the account of “mania accidens ex humore melancolico” in Maemonides (*Aphorismi excellentissimi Raby Moyses secundum doctrinam Galieni medicorum principis*, Bononia, 1489). Partic. sexta.

que ex flegmate: quandoque ex melancholia."¹ But the closeness of the connection between mania engendered by melancholy humor and *hereos* itself is evinced (for example) by a comparison between Arnaldus' description of the symptoms of melancholy mania and the signs of *hereos* as elaborated by Razi and John of Gaddesden above.²

Quod si melancholia in causa fuerit sunt tristes et solliciti de sepulchris agitant morituros quotidie se credunt: iacent in sepulchris ossa mortuorum colligentes: tota die plorant. . . . Alii extendunt brachia in modum gallorum. et videntes gallos cantant sicut galli credentes se esse gallos.³

Chaucer's doctrine of the cells of the head, moreover, in their relation to *hereos* and *mania*, is both accurate and orthodox:

Mania quidem est infectio anterioris cellulæ capitis cum priuatione imaginationis . . . melancholia: est tristitia timor: et destructio sermonis: et locus eius . . . est media cellula capitis inter rationalem et fantasticam.⁴

Equally explicit is the remarkable *Glosulæ Quatuor Magistrorum super chirurgiam Rogerii et Rolandi*:

Nota primo differentiam inter maniam et melancholiam: nam mania fit in anteriori parte⁵ cerebri, melancholia vero in media, sed ambae fiunt ex uno et eodem humore.⁶

Even "biforen" is absolutely sound:

Intelligendum est quod in cerebro sunt tres cellulæ, prima quæ est in parte anteriori: secunda quæ est in medio, tertia quæ est in postremo. In anteriori parte primæ cellulæ iacet sensus communis. . . . In postrema autem parte primæ cellulæ iacet phantasia. . . . Unde phantasia est thesaurus sensus communis.⁷

¹ Arnaldus, *Breviarium*, Lib. primus, cap. xxvi ("De mania et melancholia"), f. 161.

² Pp. 508, 503.

³ Arnaldus, *Breviarium* (as above), f. 162.

⁴ *Breviarium*, f. 161. Cf. also the *Viaticus* of Aegidius Corboliensis (ed. Rose, 1907), II. 202 ff.:

Lege melancolicæ conturbat mania pestis
humanum cerebrum, sed discretiva locorum
distinguit species. nam cellula prima nocivum
fumum suscipiens animalis præpedit actum
officii, lapsumque subit fantastica virtus.
laesa melancolicum producit cella secunda, etc.

⁵ In the next sentence, "in anteriori cellula."

⁶ De Renzi, *Collectio Salernitana*, 2, 658. On the *Glosulæ* see (in addition to De Renzi) Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 709-12. Compare also the *Tractatus de aegritudinum curatione*, of which the part I am about to quote is ascribed to Platearius, the husband of Chaucer's Trotula (D 677), who lived about the middle of the eleventh century (see *Collectio Salernitana*, 2, 47 ff.; Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 642): "Mania est infectio anterioris cellulæ capitis cum privatione imaginationis. Melancholia est infectio mediæ cellulæ capitis cum privatione rationis" (*Collect. Salern.*, 2, 124).

⁷ Gordonius, *Affectus præter naturam curandi methodus*, Partic. quarta, cap. i (ed. 1550, p. 667). The whole passage is extremely interesting from the point of view of mediaeval psychology. Cf. also Arnaldus de Villanova, *Breviarium*, Lib. I, cap. xxviii, f. 162.

And the "Byforne *in*" of the Harleian MS, as against the other readings,¹ is put beyond all further question. But the comma after "biforen" in the modern editions should go out.²

Finally, one is brought back to the intimate connection between the doctrine of the cells and *hereos* in a passage from John of Tornamira:

[Hereos] est passio cerebri potissime in media *et* anteriori cellula: quia pro actione illa laesa est nocumentum principaliter ipsius discretivae per colligantiam imaginativae quae habitat in illis cellulis: et illud discretivae *et* imaginativae est passio seu nocumentum activae sensus communis.³

Chaucer's entire description, in a word, presupposes an intimate acquaintance on his part with certain of the prevailing medical views of his day, and the passage serves as another exemplification not only of his keen and insatiable interests, but also of the need and the value of reconstructing his intellectual background. Whether or not the *Lilium medicinae* and the *Rosa anglica* and the *Liber Almansoris* were among his "bokes old and newe" one cannot say. But some of their pages he had found—as I think I can assert we too should find them!—rather fascinating reading, and I hope at another time to follow him still further through *these* "glenings here and there." Meantime, we are not yet done with *hereos*.

VII

Second in interest only to the passage in Chaucer is the well-known *crux* in the *Philobiblon* of Richard of Bury,⁴ which it is now possible to clear up once for all. The lines in question are near the beginning of the eleventh chapter, and I shall quote them as they stand in the edition of Ernest C. Thomas:⁵

Quamobrem licet mentem nostram librorum amor *hereos possideret a

¹ See above, p. 492, n. 7.

² Arnaldus' reference above (p. 527) to the first cell as "[cellulam] *fantasticam*" gives, of course, Chaucer's exact phrase.

³ Compare the passage from Gordonius just quoted.

⁴ Richard d'Angerville was born in 1281 and died in 1345. He was, therefore, a contemporary of Bernardus Gordonius. The *Lilium medicinae* was written just forty years before the *Philobiblon*.

⁵ London, 1888, pp. 99–100. I am indebted to Professor Frederick Tupper, to whom I communicated my first suspicions about *hereos*, for reminding me of the passage in the *Philobiblon*.

puero, quorum zelo languere vice voluptatis accepiamus, minus tamen librorum civilium appetitus nostris adhaesit affectibus, etc.¹

How utterly at a loss the editors of the *Philobiblon* have been—for, unlike the Chaucerians, they did not have Eros to fall back on—may best be seen by quoting the notes from the last two critical editions of the text.

Mr. Thomas comments as follows:

Nearly all the MSS read *hereos*, a word of which no trace is to be found in the dictionaries. The reading of one MS *herous* would make sense, but the weight of authority is so overwhelming that it is not safe to adopt it. The phrase *amor heroicus* indeed occurs in an ecclesiastical sequence: York Missal, ii. 217.² *Haerens*, which would appear in the MSS as *herens*, might be supported by the common use of *haereo* in Cicero: cf. *Ad Att.* xiii. 40, 2: "in libris haereo." Inglis translates "master love," as though it were *herus*; Cocheris takes absolutely no notice of the word. The difficulty seems to be in the termination *os*, and I am inclined to suggest that De Bury may have written *δενός*. The passage would then be a nearly verbatim reproduction of a sentence in a letter of the Emperor Julian to Ecdikios, Ep. 9: *ἐμοὶ βιβλίων κήσεως ἐκ παιδαρίου δενός ἐντέθηκε πόθος*. Whether the Bishop can be supposed to have heard of this passage or not, he doubtless knew the word *δενός*; the word *δείνωσις* occurs in Quintilian, Macrobius, and Martianus Capella.³

Professor Andrew F. West, in his Grolier Club edition,⁴ has the following textual note:

hereos codd. fere omnes, *herous* in margine cod. Basil., *heroos* in margine cod. Colon., *haerens* (id est *herens*) scribo. Apud Quintum Curtium (*Hist. Alex. Magni*, viii, 3, 6) *penitus haerens amor exstat*.⁵

In the third volume Professor West comments more at length:

amor hereos is the MSS consensus, with no exception, so far as I know, save *herous* in the margin of the Basle MS and *heroos* in the margin of the Cologne MS. *Amor haerens*, or *herens* in MS form, would be in keeping with the sentiment of the passage and has some encouragement from *amore inhaereat* in the fifteenth chapter (104:7). After a long search for parallels elsewhere, I fortunately chanced on *penitus amor haerens* [as above]. From the above-mentioned considerations I have been led to favor *haerens*.⁶

¹ Observe the part played by such words as *voluptatis* and *appetitus* in the general connotation of the passage.

² See below, p. 532, n. 1.

³ Pp. 99-100.

⁴ *The Philobiblon of Richard de Bury*, edited from the best manuscripts and translated into English with an introduction and notes by Andrew Fleming West, Grolier Club, 1889.

⁵ I, 88.

⁶ III, 126.

Professor West then discusses Mr. Thomas' conjecture, which, however, he is compelled to reject. The puzzle, then, has seemed to be a hopeless one.

That the text is right and the editors wrong is now clear enough.¹ Not to mention such phrases as "*amor qui hereos dicitur*" in Gordonius and Constantinus Africanus, the exact words *amor hereos* occur, as we have seen, in John of Gaddesden, John of Tornamira, Valescus de Taranta, the rubric in Albucasim, and (in the form *amorereos*) in Gerardus de Solo. Moreover, there can be no question of the meaning. It is not even necessary to appeal to such an admirable definition of Richard of Bury's phrase as one gets by isolating the opening words of Valescus of Taranta's statement: "*est autem amor hereos amor inordinatus.*"² That the term was not confined to the idea of "*amor inordinatus . . . quem aliquis habet erga aliquam mulierem*" there is abundant and indisputable evidence. The Arabic word *'iṣq* itself, for which *hereos* stands, has a far wider sense. Avicenna has left a philosophical essay upon *'iṣq* in its broader implications; it is not, he says, peculiar to mankind, but is found in all nature, in the celestial bodies, the elements, plants, minerals, animals; it is incomprehensible, and the attempt to define it only makes it more obscure, as is the case with beauty and poetical form. One might paraphrase this sense of the word by "attraction," "affinity"—mysterious forces which make things strive to come together.³

¹ Since this article was written I have seen for the first time Professor Gollancz' edition of Mr. Thomas' translation of the *Philobiblon* in the "King's Classics" (London, 1907). After summarizing Thomas' note, Professor Gollancz continues: "But surely the MSS are correct; '*amor hereos*' reminds one of Chaucer's phrase, 'the lovers maladye of Hereos,' i.e., the lover's disease of Eros (*Knight's Tale*, 515); *amor hereos* = love-passion, '*hereos*' being used in apposition to *amor* or adjectively" (p. 137). Professor Gollancz has seen what the other editors (not only of the *Philobiblon* but also of the *Knight's Tale*) rather amazingly failed to observe—the identity of de Bury's *hereos* with Chaucer's. Beyond that, however, his note does not go.

² Mr. Thomas translates the phrase (p. 218): "the overmastering love of books"; Inglis (see above, p. 529): "the master love of books"; Professor West (II, 96): "a deep love of books."

³ This essay—for my knowledge of which I am again indebted to Professor George F. Moore—may be found (with a faithful rendering of the substance) in A. F. Mehren, *Traité mystiques d'Abou Ali al-Hosain b. Abdallâh b. Sîdâ, ou d'Avicenne*. Troisième Fascicule. *Traité sur l'amour*, etc. Texte arabe accompagné de l'explication en Français. Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1894. A similar reproduction of the essay was given by Mehren in *Le Muséon*, T. IV, pp. 594–602 (October, 1885). The treatise is divided into seven chapters, the titles of which Mehren renders as follows: i, "Sur l'amour en tant que sa force embrasse tout la création"; ii, "Sur l'amour comme principe essentiel des notions abstraites . . ."; iii, "Sur l'amour qui se trouve dans les âmes végétaives"; iv, "Sur

The *ἔρως* of the Greek translation of the *Zad-el-Mouçafîr*, which underlies Constantine's chapter on "amor qui dicitur hereos," also carries over something of this wider meaning:

καὶ πολλάκις γίνεται ἡ αἰτία τοῦ ἔρωτος, ὅταν ἐρᾶται ἡ ψυχὴ πλησιάσαι θεᾶς εὐειδεστάτης καὶ χαρακτήρος, ἢ μορφῆς ὑπερφνεστάτης, διότι εἴωθεν ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ θεραπεύεσθαι καὶ θαυμάζειν ἐπὶ παντὶ καλλίστῳ πράγματι, ἀπὸ τε μαργάρων καὶ οἰκῶν ἢ ἐτέρων ὁμοίων· ἐὰν δὲ ἔσονται τὰ τοιαῦτα κάλλιστα ἐν τινι πράγματι, ὑπάρχουσιν ὡς εἰς τὸ γένος τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ὃ ἔρως οὗτος καὶ ἡ φυσικὴ ἀγάπη, τότε κινεῖται ἡ ἐπιθυμία σπείδουσα καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ πρὸς συνουσίαν ἐκείνου τοῦ πράγματος, καὶ ὁμιλῆσαι καὶ πληρῶσαι.¹

The definition of Arnaldus de Villanova is perfectly general:

Amor . . . qui dicitur heroicus est vehemens et assidua cogitatio supra rem desideratam cum confidentia obtinendi delectabile apprehensum ex ea.²

And there is, finally, unimpeachable contemporary testimony to the wider usage of the term in Richard of Bury's own day. John of Tornamira was undoubtedly born before Richard of Bury's death. And John of Tornamira's statement is explicit:

Et nota quod amor hereos est amor multum excedens sine ratione: ideo dicitur amor cum insania mentis propter multum delectabile ab eis conceptum iam habendum. nam hereos grece est multum delectabile latine: et licet talis amor excedens seu cum insania mentis se extendat apud plures homines ad plures res: ut ad filium ad equum ad pecunias ad diuitias: et ad plures alias res estimantes illam esse ultimum deliciae et felicitatis mundanae. ideo ribaldi aliqui habent talem amorem ad ludum et amorem in taberna estimantes hoc esse ultimum deliciae et complacentiae tolerantis tales miserias propter talem complacentiam habendam. proprie tamen amor hereos vertit se ad mulieres propter deliciam carnalem ultimate eis deliciosam habendam.³

"Librorum amor hereos," then, is simply—to paraphrase John of Tornamira—"amor librorum excedens, apud illos qui existimant libros esse ultimum deliciae et felicitatis mundanae." No better

l'amour des âmes animales"; v, "Sur l'amour ayant pour objet la beauté extérieure"; vi, "Sur l'amour des âmes divines"; vii, "Conclusion générale." The whole treatise is, indeed, as Mehren points out, based on Plotinus, and the passage of Plotinus into Arab Aristotelianism is (as Professor Moore reminds me) a well-known chapter. Strangely enough the next passage I shall quote shows traces of the same influence, now reaching Western Europe by way of Arab medical writers.

¹ Daremberg et Ruelle, *Œuvres de Rufus d'Éphèse*, p. 582 (Appendice, Section IV).

² *Tractatus de amore qui heroycus nominatur*, cap. i (f. 215). See also the very interesting discussion (too long to quote) of the "causae primatiuae heroys" in the *Liber de parte operativa* (f. 128).

³ *Clarificatorium*, ff. 19–20. Compare also Savonarola's statement (see below, p. 532, for reference): "Ego vero feci ilischi terminum communem."

interpretation of the words could be desired. And if we translate "the passionate love of books," we shall not be far from de Bury's sense.¹

VIII

There is left Burton's use of the phrase "heroical love" in the *Anatomy of Melancholy*. But before coming to that it is necessary to follow *hereos* a little farther. For its course runs through the sixteenth century, and over the edge of the seventeenth.

Giovanni Michele Savonarola (1390-1472), the grandfather of the reformer and martyr, was born before Chaucer's death, and his most important work, the *Practica major*, remained a standard treatise for more than two centuries.² The fourteenth chapter of Tractatus VI is entitled "De ilischi."³ It follows very closely Gor-

¹ Mr. Thomas, it will be observed, was on a hot scent, when he quoted the *amor heroicus* of the York Missal. And the sequence referred to is extremely interesting as indicating a still further extension of the meaning of the phrase. I had occasion some years ago (see *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XIX, 625) to call attention to the transfer to an earthly love of certain expressions commonly used of the heavenly love in the hymns to the Virgin. The reverse process—the transfer, that is, to the "love celestial" of the terminology associated with the "love of kinde"—is no less familiar, and the line in the sequence seems to be a case in point. It occurs in the hymn beginning "Dulcis Jesus Nazarenus" in the *Sequentia* for the *Missa de nomine Jesu* (York Missal, ed. Surtees Soc., ii, 217). The hymn is assigned by Chevalier (*Repertorium Hymnologicum*, Vol. I, Louvain, 1892, p. 294—a reference which Professor Karl Young has been kind enough to look up for me) to Bernardinus de Bustis (+1500), and the earliest text is cited as of the year 1489. It belongs to the period, accordingly, when *amor heroicus* was still a well-known phrase. The stanza to which Thomas refers is as follows:

Hoc [nomen] nos decet honorare,
Arca cordis inserare,
Cogitare, peramare,
Amore sed heroico.

A few of the following stanzas will make clear how thoroughly steeped the hymn is in the phraseology of human passion:

Ut quid majora cupimus,
Quam quod Jesus sit intimus,
Qui est praeamantissimus
Et quaerit nos amare.

Amat ferventissime,
Amat constantissime,
Amat fidelissime,
Et suos vult juvare.

Nomen suum fecit tale,
Ut sit cunctis cordiale,
Capitale, principale,
Dilectum ex intimis.

Habent hoc naturae jura,
Ut amantem tota cura
Reamemus, placitura
Praestantes ex animis.

² Neuburger u. Pagel, I, 677.

³ *Practica Joannis Michaelis Savonarolae*, Venice, 1498 (John Crerar Library). In the *Tabula* the chapter is entitled "De ilischi [sic] siue hereos."

donius' treatment,¹ and I shall quote only its opening sentences:

Ilischi est sollicitudo melancolica qua quis ob amorem fortem et intensum sollicitat habere rem quam nimia aviditate concupiscit: cuius causa secundum philosophum est animi forte accidens. ¶ Et ilischi est nomen arabicum. apud nos vero interpretatum amor. Unde haec passio a multis dicta est hereos. quia herois siue nobilibus plus contigit. nam hi ex aliis non impediti super alios procantur.²

Savonarola's chapter was, as we shall see, well known to Burton.

The most amazing of all the metamorphoses, however, that *hereos* has undergone is found in Paracelsus. It would have entirely escaped my notice, had it not been for the sole occurrence of *hereos* that I have been able to discover in a lexicon.³ This is found in *Amalthaeum Castello-Brunonianum siue Lexicon medicum*,⁴ and reads as follows: "Hereos, species amoris imaginarii apud Parac. in pollutione nocturna, l. 3. de orig. morb. invisibil." On account of its extremely curious interest—for *amor hereos* now becomes the *fons et origo* of the Incubi and Succubi—I shall quote at some length from the third book of Paracelsus' treatise, *De origine morborum invisibilium*.⁵

Iam verò sperma hoc, ita productum, ex imaginatione in amore Hereos natum est, Quid vero iste amor est? Nihil aliud, quam quod sibi aliquis per fantasiam in animo foeminam fingit, et cum hâc rehabendo, amorem suum exsatiat. Unde surdi quoque ac fatui spermatis exitus est, quod ad liberorum generationem ineptum est. Ex illo tamen spermate *Incubus* et *Succubus* gignuntur. Sed adhuc unum hic notare debetis, nimirum huiusmodi imaginationem matrem esse lasciviae impudicae: unde fit, ut si amatores et amatrices tales per intentam imaginationem congregiantur, minime foecundi sint. Imaginatio enim gubernat hoc sperma ita, ut natura ab extraneis infringatur. Quae caussa potissima est multorum sterilitatis ac molae. Ut vero de generatione ista incubi et succubi dicere pergam: noscendum vobis est spermata illa per spiritus nocturnos asportari. Hi illa in ea loca transferunt, ubi excludi possint, nimirum ad serpentes, vermes, bufones, et impura

¹ It includes, for example, not only the "ranam-Dianam" line, but also, with it, the two other passages which Gordon quotes.

² F. 64. Like Valescus of Taranta, Savonarola is apt to go Gordon's cures one better. For example: "Septimus appresentetur vetula *nuda* cum barba longa ceruicibus barbata."

³ I have examined all the medical dictionaries to which I have had access, and the list is a fairly long one.

⁴ Norimbegae, 1688.

⁵ *Opera omnia*, Geneva, 1658, Vol. I (*Opera medica complectens*), p. 126 (Boston Public Library). Paracelsus' dates—it is unnecessary here to consider the man himself—are 1493-1541.

animalia similia. Ibi enim a spiritibus illis actus seu congressio cum spermatis illis in animalia illa fit. . . .

Caeterum quid tandem est ille amor Hereos de quo hîc dictum est? Id dictum est de corpore visibili, quod huius origo est. Quemadmodum etiam homo naturali constitutione ad hoc opus idoneus factus est, non solus, sed cum altero perfectum corpus: hoc est, vir et foemina corpus unum sunt. Et velut agricola sine agro inutilis est, ager item vicissem sine agricola, sed utrique unum saltem sunt: talis ipse etiam homo est, non vir solus, non sola foemina, sed utrique ipsi unum sunt: ex quo deinde homo generatur. Si vero vir nolit integer esse homo, aut ipsa quoque foemina: tunc unusquislibet in seipso duo corpora habet terrenum nimirum visibiliter, et coeleste invisibiliter. Iam vero et hoc modo cuilibet sua privatim natura est ad naturale semen, quod tamen in agricultura similiter se non habet; sed saltem semen unum est. Corpora haec duo in suis operibus distincta sunt ita, ut utrumque vel celerius, vel tardius, vel hoc, vel illo modo sese mouere, ac incitare possit. Ex quo sequitur, *corpus per seipsum sine omni imaginatione pollutiones emittere*.¹ Sed haec pollutio non est in potestate spirituum nocturnorum. Et quemadmodum coelum suos motus habet: ita suos habet etiam corpus coeleste, quod omnia sua opera in imaginatione perficit, eo modo, quo dictum est. Iam vero amor Hereos in invisibili corpore nascitur. Si ad operandum procedit, non est amor Hereos. Sin vero minus: tunc is est. Sic amor Hereos ipse pater ac mater est, electio spermatur, ex qua postea incubus et succubus naturas suas accipiunt: hoc est, alterum est spiritus nocturnus mulierum, alterum virorum.

This particular use of the term is, so far as I know, peculiar to Paracelsus, who has seized upon the tensely focused imagination ascribed to the *hereosi*, and has built it into the fabric of his own monstrous world. But the term itself remained in the books for at least a century longer, and the subject was treated with even greater detail than before. The briefest possible summaries, however, of the later authorities must suffice.

In the *Methodus curandorum omnium morborum corporis humani* of Guilielmus Rondeletius² is a chapter "De amantibus."³ The name *hereos* itself does not occur, but under *melancholia* (cap. 41) appears the following: "Alii perditè amant, et nihil nisi de amore loquuntur. Hos Graeci *ἐρωτικούς* vocant."⁴

¹ Italics in original.

² Paris, n.d. (Boston Medical Library). Rondelet's dates are 1507-1566. See Neuburger u. Pagel, II, 209.

³ Book I, cap. 45. The old setting still remains, for the chapter "De amantibus" follows the chapters on frenzy, insomnia, lethargy, catalepsy, apoplexy, paralysis, stupor, epilepsy, convulsions, melancholy, mania, and incubus.

⁴ P. 111.

The treatment of Forestus (1522-97) is both fuller and more interesting.¹ His statement of the names of the malady, and a part of his discussion of its signs are all that I may quote:

Scholia: Mentis quoque malum est in amore furere, et ita amorem inter affectus cerebri annumerant medici: qui plerumque tragico luctu, in maniam aut melancholiam definit. Vocatur autem Graecis *ἔρως*, Romanis Amor. Unde morbus hic amoris dicitur, à Barbaris et Avicennâ Iliscus vocatur. ab Arculano Passio divina. Pars igitur affecta est cerebrum ipsum, uti in melancholia vel mania, in quos morbos facile transit. . . .

Amantes quoque tristes sunt, demissi et insomniculosi, longisque suspiriis de amore cogitant, facie pallente, et obliiti cibi cupidinis tabe intereunt.²

As *exempla* Forestus cites Medea, Lucretius, Iphis, and Cephalus, with abundant quotation from Ovid,³ and he gives at great length the usual cures.⁴

Even fuller, however, than Forestus' discussion is the chapter "De amore insano" in Sennertus (1572-1637).⁵ He recognizes that *Hereos* = *ἔρως*:

Amor Graecis *ἔρως* est, unde affectum hunc Barbari Hereos, et hoc malo laborantes Heroticos nominant, Arabes Ilisci. Est autem Delirium melancholicum, ex amore nimio ortum.⁶

His long and detailed discussion is somewhat in Burton's own vein. For example:

Et imprimis amoris caussa est objectum pulchrum, seu revera tale, seu tale apparens, visui oblatum. Unde Amor Graecis *ἔρως ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰσπεῖν*, ab influendo, quod ex adspectu per oculos, quasi per fenestras, in mentem hominis influat, dictus putatur; et hinc illud est vulgatum. . . . Oculi sunt in amore duces. . . . Ita David Bersabae, Dido Aeneae conspectu amore accensa est.⁷

The value of the pulse in diagnosis is fully treated;⁸ he quotes the "Love and lordship" passage from Boethius;⁹ he gives a

¹ D. Petro Foresto, *Observationum et curationum medicinalium libri tres*, Lugd. Batav., 1590 (Boston Medical Library). See Neuburger u. Pagel, II, 484.

² Observatio xxix, "De furore ex vesano amore," pp. 227-28.

³ Pp. 229-30.

⁴ Pp. 230-31, 235 ff. The setting is also the usual one—frenzy, lethargy, melancholy, mania, lycanthropy, cynanthropy, love.

⁵ Danielus Sennertus, *Practicae medicinae* (Wittenberg, 1654), Book I, Part. III, cap. x (Boston Medical Library). For Sennertus see Neuburger u. Pagel, II, 488.

⁶ Pp. 354-55. The next sentence is consoling: "Non equidem omnes amantes delirant."

⁷ P. 357.

⁸ P. 359.

⁹ P. 360.

thoroughly Chaucerian list of examples—Medea, Dido, Hercules, Sampson, Solomon; and he discusses at great length the now well-known cures.¹

The fullest treatment of the whole subject outside Burton—a treatment, indeed, which constitutes, when taken in connection with the *Anatomy*, one of the most remarkable coincidences in the history of letters—is that of Jacques Ferrand, in his *EPOTOMANIA*.² The English translation is a volume of 363 pages, in thirty-nine chapters.³ Ferrand shows familiarity (in many instances by verbal citation) with the treatments of the subject in Avicenna,⁴ Arnaldus

¹ Pp. 360–65. The setting of the chapter is the usual one.

² The full title of the second edition of the English translation (Oxford, 1645)—the only one which I have been able to examine—is as follows: *EPOTOMANIA, | or, | A Treatise | Discoursing of the Essence, | Causes, Symptomes, Prog- | nosticks, and Cure of | LOVE. | or, | Erotique | Melancholy. |*. According to Madan (*Early Oxford Press*, p. 419; quoted by Professor Bensly in *Notes and Queries*, Ser. X, Vol. XI, p. 286) the first French edition is dated Toulouse, 1612; the second, Paris, 1623.

³ Since the book is rare, and its interest in connection with Burton very great, I append the titles of the chapters: (1) "That it is needfull to teach the Cure of Love"; (2) "The Symptomes of Love Melancholy"; (3) "Of the name of Love, and Love-Melancholy"; (4) "Of Melancholy, and its severall kinds"; (5) "The Definition of Love-Melancholy"; (6) "The Externall Causes of Love-Melancholy"; (7) "The Internal Causes of Love-Melancholy"; (8) "Of the Manner how Love is generated"; (9) "Whether in Love-Melancholy the Heart be the seat of the Disease, or the Brain"; (10) "Whether Love-Melancholy be an Hereditary disease, or no"; (11) "The different kinds of Love-Melancholy"; (12) "Whether that Disease in Women, called by Physitians, *Furor Uterinus*, be a species of Love-Melancholy, or no"; (13) "Whether or no, a Physitian may by his Art find out Love, without confession of the Patient"; (14) "Signes Diagnostickes of Love-Melancholy"; (15) "The Cause of Palenesse in Lovers"; (16) "What manner of eyes Melancholy Lovers have"; (17) "Whether Teares be a Symptome of Love, or no"; (18) "The causes of Waking, and Sighes in Lovers"; (19) "During what Age Men and Women are subject to this disease of Love-Melancholy"; (20) "The Signes by which we may know those that are inclined to Love-Melancholy"; (21) "Whether or no by Astrology a Man may know such as are inclined to Love-Melancholy"; (22) "Whether or no, by Physiognomy and Chiromancy a man may know one to be inclined to Love"; (23) "Whether or no by Oniromancy or the Interpretation of Dreames, one may know those that are in Love"; (24) "Whether or no, Jealousy be a Diagnostick sign of Love-Melancholy"; (25) "The Prognosticks of Love, and Erotique melancholy"; (26) "Of the *Incubi*, and *Succubi*"; (27) "Whether the Love of Women be stronger and more dangerous than that of Men"; (28) "Of the Prevention of Love, and Erotique Melancholy"; (29) "Order of Diet, for the Prevention of Love-Melancholy"; (30) "Chirurgicall Remedies, for the Prevention of Love, and Erotique Melancholy"; (31) "Medicinal Remedies, for [the same]"; (32) "The cure of Erotique Melancholy, or Love Madnesse"; (33) "Remedies for the Cure of Love-Melancholy in married Persons"; (34) "Of Philters, and Poeticall Cures of Love"; (35) "Empiricall Remedies, for the cure of Love, or Erotique Melancholy"; (36) "Methodicall Remedies for the cure of Love, and Erotique Melancholy. And first of Order of Diet"; (37) "Chirurgicall remedies, for the cure of Love-Melancholy"; (38) "Pharmaceuticall Remedies, for the cure of Love, or Erotique Melancholy."

⁴ See, for instance, pp. 10, 17, 28, 29, 116, 124, 205, 222, 231, 238, 243, 244, 248, 254, 256, 258, 264, 269, 274, 277, 306, 321, 328, 330, 337, 350, 359, 360.

de Villanova,¹ Bernardus Gordonius,² and Valescus de Taranta.³ He refers to or quotes from Hippocrates, Galen, Rufus, Oribasius, Paul of Aegina, Razi, Haly Abbas, and Alsaravius. Like Burton, he intersperses his medical lore with copious citations from the classical poets, both Greek and Latin, and his work—which suggests the man of letters rather than the physician—is aptly enough characterized in one of the five sets of laudatory verses prefixed to it:

Poetry candies the Philosophy,
Like *Galen* mixt with *Sidnies* Arcadye.

Which (like two Starres conjoyn'd) are so well laid,
That it will please *Stoicke*, and *Chambermaid*.

It is, indeed, the amazing similarity between Ferrand's treatment of the subject—both in general and in detail—and that of Burton, which constitutes (apart from our immediate interest) his chief claim to attention. That similarity is so marked that it led Madan⁴ to the suggestion of indebtedness on Burton's part—a suggestion which Professor Bensly expressly rejected. And the ground of his rejection is Burton's reiterated and explicit denial of any knowledge of Ferrand's work until after his own third edition.⁵ That denial we may, I think, implicitly accept. The subject, as we have seen, is one that had already been far more fully treated than has been hitherto supposed, and the similarities between the two works, striking as they are, are due in large measure to their common indebtedness to the same sources.⁶ And, finally, we have Burton's word. For the author of the *Anatomy* could not but foresee, when he read Ferrand's work, the inevitable inference that would be drawn, and he deliberately made it a question of veracity. And even were there no further evidence, Burton's veracity is scarcely to be impugned.

¹ See pp. 17, 29, 112, 131, 242, 247, 248, 256, 264, 267, 270, 274, 278, 293, 296, 340.

² See pp. 17, 39, 72, 81, 107, 131, 236–37, 239, 255, 256, 257, 274, 334.

³ See pp. 170–71, 274, 278.

⁴ See reference above.

⁵ "*Ferandus*, a Frenchman, in his *Erotique Mel.* (which book came first to my hand after the Third Edition)" (Part. III, Sec. II, Mem. II, Subs. I, ed. Shilleto, III, 67)—to which Burton appends the note: "Printed at Paris in 1624 [this is the date as it appears in Burton's fifth edition. Shilleto tacitly changes 1624 to 1628], seven years after my first edition." See also Part. III, Sec. II, Mem. V, Subs. I (ed. Shilleto, III, 223): "*Jacobus Ferrandus*, the Frenchman, in his *Tract de amore erotico*," and Burton's note: "This author came to my hands since the third edition of this book."

⁶ No final refutation, of course, of any charge of undue influence can be made without a comparison of Burton's various editions with the 1612 and 1623 editions of Ferrand.

I shall quote from Ferrand only his discussion of the *name* of the malady:

Avicen, with the whole family of the Arabians, calls this disease, in his own language, *Alhasch*, and *Iliscus*: Arnoldus de Villa nova, Gordonius, and their contemporaries call it by the name of Heroicall Melancholy: whether it is, because the ancient *Heroes*, or Demi-gods, were often taken with this passion, as the fabulous Poets report: or else happily for that great personages are more inclinable to this maladie, then the common sort of people: or else lastly, because that Love does as it were domineer, and exercise a kinde of tyranny over those that are subject to his power.¹

We may now come at once to Burton.²

IX

One may grant without abatement all that has been written of the *Anatomy of Melancholy* as a piece of literature. The unique flavor of Burton's style and the rare and curious interest of his matter will never lose their fascination for his own choice audience. But the *Anatomy* is also something else than a great and original literary masterpiece. It is, as an authority than whom there is no higher has pointed out—and it is this first and foremost—"a great medical treatise, orderly in arrangement, serious in purpose."³ And its longest and most interesting section (it is now possible to add) rests directly on the earlier treatments of *amor hereos* itself. For Burton's fundamental statements regarding Love-Melancholy are drawn, often with due reference to his authorities, straight from Avicenna, Arnaldus de Villanova, Bernardus Gordonius, Valescus de Taranta, Savonarola, Forestus, Sennertus, and their contemporaries and followers.⁴ It is possible to indicate here only a few of the points of

¹ P. 117.

² The authorities prior to Burton whom I have named at the close of note 4 below I have not seen.

³ An unpublished lecture by Sir William Osler, quoted in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, IV, 281. Since this article was written, Sir William Osler's paper has been printed in the *Yale Review*, January, 1914. See p. 252 for the reference here given.

⁴ The following references, which do not pretend to be exhaustive, are (for the sake of brevity) to the pages of the third volume of Shilleto's edition. Burton quotes Avicenna on pp. 62, 153, 232, 233, 263, and refers to him on pp. 2, 156, 218, 219, 223, etc. He quotes Arnaldus on pp. 63, 214, with references on pp. 2, 218, 225, 295. He quotes Gordonius on pp. 156, 214, 220, 229, 231, 232, 236, and refers to him on pp. 2, 64, 66, etc. He quotes Savonarola on p. 62, with references on pp. 2, 218, 219, 229, 263, 295, etc. Valescus is quoted on p. 222, and referred to on pp. 2, 66, 156, 295, etc. Other references to

contact with our immediate subject. I hope some day to come back to certain larger aspects of what Burton has achieved.

Burton's use of the adjective "heroical" is the first thing that arrests attention. The Third Partition of the *Anatomy* deals with "Love and Love-Melancholy." Under this, in the Analysis, falls (together with "8 Jealousy, *Sect. 3*") the great second section, entitled: "T Heroical or Love-Melancholy." Precisely as in the case of the earlier medical writers this is treated under the following heads: "*Memb. 1.* His pedigree, power . . . name, definition, etc.; *Memb. 2.* Causes; *Memb. 3.* Symptoms or signs; *Memb. 4.* Prognosticks; *Memb. 5.* Cures." To this classification I shall revert later. For the moment it is the adjective alone with which we are concerned. And Burton three times gives his explanation of its use. The first I shall quote is under Part. III, Sec. II, Memb. I, Subs. I.—"Heroical love causing Melancholy":

In the precedent Section mention was made, amongst other pleasant objects, of the comeliness and beauty which proceeds from women, that causeth *Heroical*, or Love-melancholy, is more eminent above the rest, and properly called *Love*. The part affected in men is the liver, and therefore called *Heroical*, because commonly Gallants, Noblemen, and the most generous spirits are possessed with it.¹

The second, however, in the next Subsection (. . . "Love, or Heroical Melancholy, his definition, part affected"), is more important. The passage occurs toward the close of the Subsection, and I shall quote it at some length:

It [love] rageth with all sorts and conditions of men, yet is most evident among such as are young and lusty, in the flower of their years, nobly descended, high fed, such as live idly, and at ease; and for that cause (which our Divines call burning lust) this *ferinus insanus amor*, this mad and beastly passion, as I have said, is named by our Physicians *Heroical Love*, and a more honourable title put upon it, *amor nobilis*, as *Savonarola* styles it, because Noble men and women make a common practice of it, and are so ordinarily affected with it. *Avicenna, lib. 3. Fen. 1. tract. 4. cap. 23,*

authorities on *amor hereos* are as follows: Aelian Montaltus, pp. 2, 153, 214, 218, 295; Arculanus, pp. 233, 263; Carolus à Lorme, 63, 223; Forestus, 223; Frietagus, 64, 151; Guianerius, 67, 219, 220, 222, 263; Hercules de Saxonia, 163; Hildesheim, 220, 223; Jason Pratensis, 2, 64, 153, 218, 220, 222, 223, 225, 229, 233, 261, 263, 295; Langius, 2, 63, 153, 156, 218, 222, 223, 295; Lod. Mercatus, 223, 273; Razi, 63, 71, 222, 233; Sennertus, 223; Valleriola, 2, 99, 153, 156, 170, 218, 223, 225, 295; Valesius, 18, 233; Vives, 222.

¹ Ed. Shilleto, III, 43.

calleth this passion *Ilishi*, and defines it to be a disease or melancholy vexation, or anguish of mind, in which a man continually meditates of the beauty, gesture, manners of his Mistress, and troubles himself about it, desiring (as Savonarola adds) with all intentions and eagerness of mind to compass or enjoy her, as commonly Hunters trouble themselves about their sports, the covetous about their gold and goods, so is he tormented still about his Mistress.¹ Arnoldus Villanovanus, in his book of Heroical Love, defines it a continual cogitation of that which he desires, with a confidence or hope of compassing it². . . . Carolus à Lorme, in his Questions, makes a doubt, *an amor sit morbus*, whether this heroical love be a disease: Julius Pollux *Onomast. lib. 6. cap. 44.* determines it. They that are in love are likewise sick; *lascivus, salax, lasciviens, et qui in venerem furit vere est aegrotus*. Arnoldus will have it improperly so called, and a malady rather of the body than mind. Tully in his *Tusculans* defines it a furious disease of the mind, Plato madness, Ficinus, his *Commentator*, cap. 12, a species of madness, for many have run mad for women, 1 Esdr. 4. 26. but Rhasis a melancholy passion, and most Physicians make it a species or kind of melancholy (as will appear by the Symptoms) and treat of it apart: whom I mean to imitate, and to discuss it in all his kinds, to examine his several causes, to shew his symptoms, indications, prognosticks, effects, so that it may be with more facility cured.³

The third passage I shall quote is from the first volume, and it occurs in Burton's initial discussion of "Species of Melancholy":

Love melancholy, which Avicenna calls *ilishi*, & *lycanthropia*, which he calls *cucubuth*, are commonly included in head melancholy: but of this last, which Gerardus de Solo calls *amorous*,⁴ and most *Knight melancholy* . . . I will speak apart by themselves in my third partition.⁵

Burton's "*amorous*" (following Gerardus de Solo) is almost as remarkable as his "*heroical*." For it is, of course, nothing but his rendering of the *amoreos* which is Gerardus' distinctive mark.⁶ How Burton escaped the use of the word *hereos* in the *Anatomy*—

¹ Burton gives, in his notes, the Latin text of both Avicenna and Savonarola.

² Latin text quoted in Burton's note.

³ Ed. Shilleto, III, 62–63. See also the following passages for Burton's understanding of the term: "the last object that ties man and man, is comeliness of person, and beauty alone, as men love women with a wanton eye: which κατ' ἐξοχήν is termed *Heroical*, or Love-melancholy" (III, 25): "I come at last to that *Heroical Love*, which is proper to men and women, is a frequent cause of melancholy, and deserves much rather to be called burning lust, than by such an honourable title" (III, 57); "As there be divers causes of this burning lust, or heroical love, so there be many good remedies to ease and help" (III, 235). For other occurrences of the phrase see III, 8, 13, 53, 64, 292, 295, etc.

⁴ I have, unfortunately, only Shilleto's text to rely on.

⁵ Part. I, Sec. I, Mem. III, Subs. IV, ed. Shilleto, I, 200.

⁶ See above, p. 510.

in which case our problem would have been solved three centuries ago!—were a question above antiquarianism, not to be resolved by man.

In the light of the passages quoted in the earlier part of this discussion—as well as in view of Burton's explicit reference to Arnaldus de Villanova—it is clear at a glance that *heroical*, as here used, is the *heroicus* of the older writers. Burton accepts implicitly the derivation of the word as given by Arnaldus,¹ Gordonius,² Valescus de Taranta,³ and Savonarola,⁴ all of whom he quotes. It is even possible to put our finger on the passage in Arnaldus which Burton evidently had in mind. For the phrase, "is named by our Physicians *Heroical Love*" corresponds exactly to the words in the *Liber de parte operativa*: "Et vulgariter dicitur amor: *et a medicis amor heroycus*."⁵ Burton's adjective, therefore, is not the *heroical* of the dictionaries at all. It is the curious derivative from *heroys* or *hereos*, and neither in origin nor in meaning is it the same as the word with which it has been tacitly identified.⁶ There is not *one* "heroical" in English: there are *two*.⁷

Burton's phrase persisted for more than a hundred years after his first use of it, but by the end of the seventeenth century its earlier connotation, carried over from *hereos*, seems to have been lost. "Heroical," or "heroic," in other words, was even then taken as the lexicographers ever since have taken it. The title of Granville's

¹ See above, p. 496.

² See above, p. 505.

³ See above, p. 499.

⁴ See above, p. 533.

⁵ F. 127. See above, p. 496.

⁶ Not a single English dictionary so much as recognizes the fact that, even on the common assumption, Burton's use of the word is peculiar. The *New English Dictionary* itself does not give a single quotation from Burton; neither does the *Century* or the *Standard*. No indication of any sense out of the ordinary is given in Johnson, Kersey, Bailey, Martin, Bellamy and Gordon, Fenning, Kenrick, Sheridan, Dyche, Richardson, the *Imperial*, the *Encyclopedic*, or the *International*. Nor does either Halliwell or Nares include it. Even on the common assumption of its *origin*, no definition in any dictionary quite fits Burton's use. It may be added that *héroïque*, in this sense, does not occur in Littré, or in the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*. According to Hatzfeld and Darmesteter the word came into French in the fifteenth century.

⁷ I wish to emphasize very strongly, before leaving Burton, what Professor Bensly rather hesitatingly remarks (*Modern Language Review*, IV, 233-34) in his note on the title of the *Anatomy*, in its relation to a passage in Salustius Salvianus. The categories enumerated on Burton's title-page—"The | Anatomy of | Melancholy: | What it is. | With all the Kindes, Cav- | ses, Symptomes, Prognosticks, | and Severall Cvres of it"—are those which are found almost uniformly in mediaeval medical works. See above, p. 498, and compare the rubrics in Arnaldus de Villanova, John of Gaddesden, Valescus of Taranta, Savonarola, Ferrand (see above, p. 536), etc. There is no question whatever, in Burton's title, of a borrowing from this, that, or the other particular treatise. The divisions there enumerated are as conventional as the five acts of a play.

ragedy—*Heroick Love, or The Cruel Separation*—is a case in point. The two passages in which the words occur in the play itself¹ put the meaning attached to them by Granville beyond doubt. Pope used the phrase too. And this time, by a curious turn of the wheel, it is set in sharp contrast over against the very thing for which it originally stood. Caesar's infatuation for Cleopatra, as seen by those who elevate all actions to one plane, becomes "heroic love" in Granville's sense:

Ask why from Britain Caesar would retreat?
 Caesar himself might whisper he was beat.
Why risk the world's great empire for a Punk?
 Caesar perhaps might answer he was drunk.
 But, sage historians! 'tis your task to prove
 One action Conduct; one, *heroic Love*.²

Within a century after Burton, then, the last vestiges of *hereos*, even in the adjective "heroic," or "heroical," seem to have disappeared. The *pseudo*-"heroical," with its ancestry in *ἔπος* and *herus*, had given place to the legitimate derivative from *ἥρω*, and a career of more than a thousand years, which began before Galen, came to a definite end with Pope.

X

I wish, finally, to call attention, with the utmost brevity, to the fact that, once identified, the traces of *hereos* meet us at every turn. The physical symptoms of love as one finds them in the Greek romances, in the Troubadours and Minnesingers, and in courtly

¹ The first is in Act III, sc. i:

Then what is Love? Stay—let me think again.
 Is it to fix our Wishes on one Object?
 Pleas'd only when the thing we love is pleas'd;
 Partaking of its Sorrows, seeking its good;
 Desirous more to give than to receive;
 Willing to part with all, with Fortune, Life;
 Chusing all Miseries, satisfy'd, rejoyc'd
 With any Ruin that's the means of Safety
 To the man belov'd—Ay—this is Love,
 True Love, *Heroick Love*.

The second is at the close of the play (Act V, sc. i, end):

O she is
 And to all Ages shall remain
 The brightest Pattern of *Heroick Love*
 And perfect Virtue, that the World ere knew

Compare also Henry St. Johns in the Prologue:

Chiefly the softer Sex, he hopes to move,
 Those tender Judges of *Heroick Love*.

² *Moral Essays*, I, 129–34.

poetry from Chrétien down will occur at once to everyone, and investigation of this field, I have no doubt, would yield significant results. It would be going to extremes to assert that the conventional treatment of the effects of love in mediaeval and Renaissance literature is wholly drawn from the *signa* of the medical books. There was *mutual* influence—a sort of osmosis—of course. That the medical writers levied tribute, now and again, upon the poets is clear enough from the use (for example) made of Ovid by Gondonius and Valescus.¹ And that both poets and physicians drew alike upon the notorious truths of experience admits no question. But with all such allowances the outstanding fact of the clearly formulated and widespread medical doctrine has to be reckoned with. Whatever their later fate, the chapters “de amore qui hereos dicitur” were never born to blush unseen in their own day. They constitute precisely the sort of medical lore that always filters through into lay thought and speech, and, with due recognition of the fact that *hereos* is not the only influence involved, the mediaeval literature of love must none the less be re-read in its light.²

Chaucer, for example (as we should expect), shows the influence of the belief in more than the single passage in which he names the malady. The famous opening lines of the *Book of the Duchesse*,

¹ The whole subject of the treatment of love-sickness in the Roman poets (especially Propertius and Ovid, not to mention Vergil's analysis of Dido's state) is—as my colleague, Professor Otto Heller, has reminded me—of peculiar interest in its relation to the medical treatment.

² In addition to the instances which follow I shall cite but two out of many cases in point. There are few more important formulations of the system of courtly love than the *De amore* of Andrea Capellani (late twelfth or early thirteenth century). Its first chapter opens with the following definition: “Amor est passio quaedam innata procedens ex visione et immoderata cogitatione formae alterius sexus, ob quam aliquis super omnia cupit alterius potiri amplexibus,” etc. (ed. Trojel, p. 3). That is substantially (in part even verbally) the definition of the medical writers, and Andrea's work is full of other reminiscences. In the thirteenth-century poem, *La Venus la deesse d'Amor*, the lover may be recognized at once as “*hereosus*”:

Lors est mes cors destrois et mornes et pensis,
Quant ie tot si me sent, mieus aime mort que uis.
Li boires, li mangiers, il m'est trestot faillis,
Dont ne puis auoir ioie ne par nuis ne par dis.

Mes cuers c'est mes prouost que ne puis iustichier,
Mi doi oeil ce sont cil qui font destorbier,
Li tiers ce sont mi membre quil font amaigroier.
Dex, por coi font il ce, il ne sont parchonier!

—(Ed. Foerster, Bonn, 1880, stanzas 161–62).

No. 37 in the *Carmina Burana* (ed. Schmeller, p. 125) contains interesting *signa*—and so on.

read with what we now know of *hereos* in mind, reflect, at point after point, the conventional symptoms. Troilus shows them too:

And fro this forth tho refte him love his sleep,
And made his mete his foo; and eek his sorwe
Gan multiplie, that, who-so toke keep,
It shewed in his hewe, bothe eve and morwe.¹

And as his malady grows through Creseida's loss the *signa* become more marked:

He ne eet ne dronk, for his malencolye,
And eek from every companye he fledde;
This was the lyf that al the tyme he ledde.

He so defet was, that no maner man
Unnethe mighte him knowe there he wente;
So was he lene, and ther-to pale and wan,
And feble, that he walketh by potente.²

Spenser knew them:

The thought whereof empierst his hart so deepe,
That of no worldly thing he tooke delight;
Ne dayly food did take, ne nightly sleep,
But pyn'd, and mourn'd, and languisht, and alone did weep.

That in short space his wonted chearefull hew
Gan fade, and lively spirits deaded quight:
His cheeke-bones raw, and eie-pits hollow grew,
And brawney armes had lost their knownen might,
That nothing like himselfe he seem'd in sight.³

And their significance in Shakspeare would be a study in itself. I shall mention but two of the most familiar examples.

Rosalind's "a lean cheek . . . a blue eye and sunken,"⁴ together with their context, need no comment. But the doctrine of love-melancholy, with the predisposition to madness which it involves, is not without interest in its bearing on Shakspeare's treatment of Hamlet.⁵ Briefly stated, it is clear that Polonius regards

¹ *T. and C.*, I, 484-87. He had earlier recognized the *signa* in others; see I, 911 ff.

² *V.*, 1216-22.

³ *F. Q.*, IV, xii, 19-20.

⁴ *A. Y. L.*, III, ii, 392-93; cf. also ll. 411, 438-39.

⁵ There is a rich field for study in the relation of the wealth of mediaeval medical material which exists on the subject of *melancholia* in general to the embodiment of it which one finds particularly in Elizabethan literature outside Burton. With the aid of Burton, Professor Stoll ("Shakspeare, Marston, and the Malcontent Type," *Modern*

Hamlet as suffering from *hereos*; the King, from *melancholia* (with its intimate connection with *mania* too) of a less special type. Polonius' statement of the case (a priori though it be) is a sound prognosis of *hereos* (II, ii, 146-50):

And he, repulsed—a short tale to make—
Fell into a sadness,¹ then into a fast,²
Thence to a watch,³ thence into a weakness,⁴
Thence to a lightness, and, by this declension,
Into the madness whereon now he raves.⁵

The King's diagnosis is more general:

There's something in his soul
O'er which his melancholy sits on brood.⁶

And his proposed remedy—whatever his ulterior motive—is in accordance with the best medical practice of his day:

. . . he shall with speed to England
For the demand of our neglected tribute.
Haply the seas and countries different
With variable objects shall expel
This something-settled matter in his heart,
Whereon his brains still beating puts him thus
From fashion of himself.⁷

The lines, indeed, might almost be a paraphrase of a passage in Arnaldus de Villanova:

Diuertatur cogitatio extraneis et insuetis objectis: sicut accidit in longa perigrinatione ad partes multum distantes: a loco rei desideratae occupatione circa diuersa negotia, etc.⁸

Barring the first interview with Ophelia, however, as Ophelia herself reports it and Polonius interprets it,⁹ Shakspeare himself at no point in the play represents Hamlet as showing any of the well-

Philology, III, 281-303) has already rendered valuable service in this direction. But melancholy as a literary convention and the *melancholia* of mediaeval psychiatry stand in extremely interesting relations that I hope to work out later.

¹ The *tristitia* of the medical books.

² See Gordonius, and the other writers *passim*.

³ *Vigilia*—another fixed symptom. ⁵ See above, p. 526.

⁴ Medical writers *passim*.

⁶ III, i, 172-73.

⁷ III, ii, 177-83.

⁸ F. 129. It is of little significance, in its bearing on the King's contention, that this is a cure for *hereos*. The same procedure is urged again and again as a remedy for *melancholia* in general.

⁹ I, ii, 77 ff.

known *signa* of *love*-melancholy whatever. And even in that scene, the "pale as his shirt" and the "sigh so piteous and profound" are susceptible of explanation on other grounds. The point is not, perhaps, a very important one. Nobody (except Polonius) really supposes that Hamlet is mad for Ophelia's love. But since Polonius' view forms an integral part of the play, and since Shakspeare shows knowledge of the conventional symptoms of *love*-madness, the application of the test is not wholly without value.

We may not follow *hereos* farther afield. As a chapter in the history of psychiatry; as part of the texture of forgotten modes of thought; as a curious light upon dark places, the lore of the lover's malady has a vivid and enduring human interest. And so I leave the discussion of it, which—in the words of Valescus of Taranta—"ex antiquorum rivis scaturientium aquarum disposui componere."

JOHN LIVINGSTON LOWES

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY